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FURTHER REPORT
ON THE
UTRECHT PSALTER.

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FURTHER REPORT ON THE UTRECHT PSALTER;

IN ANSWER TO THE

EIGHT REPORTS MADE TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND EDITED BY

THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

BY

SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L.,

DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

(London)

[ca. 1874]

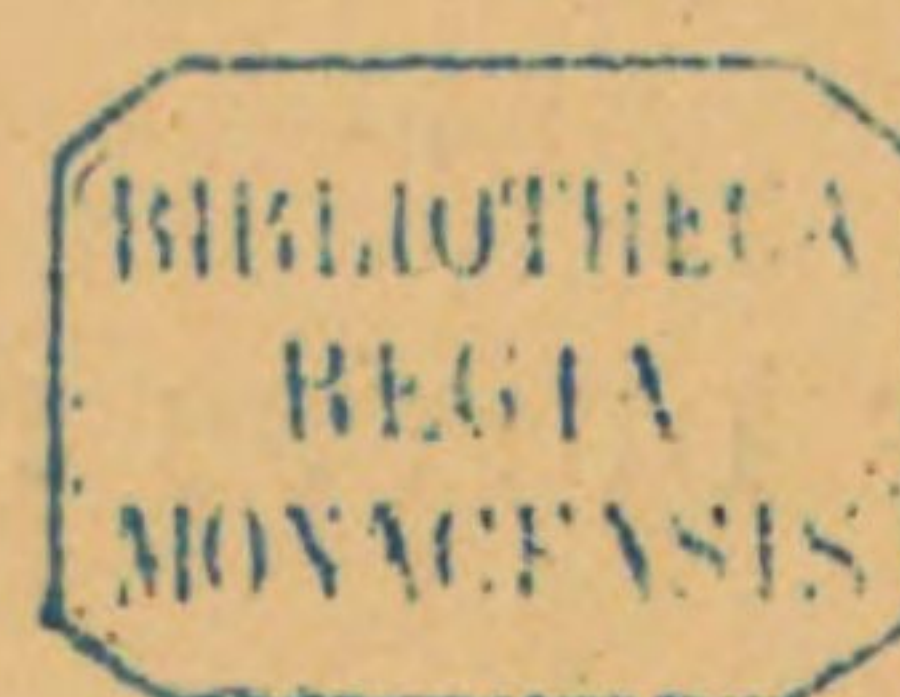


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FURTHER REPORT ON THE UTRECHT PSALTER,

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CHAPTER I.

1. WHEN I was desired by the late Master of the Rolls to report on the Utrecht Psalter, in compliance with the request of the Curators of the Library of the University to which the Psalter belonged, I could not but be aware that, whatever might be the result of my inquiry, I should of necessity offend the prejudices of some, and perhaps not give entire satisfaction to any. I considered, however, that the office I filled compelled me to lay aside all personal considerations, and to perform, to the best of my ability, the duty imposed upon me. I may have been mistaken; and my opinion, founded on long experience, may have failed to secure universal acceptance. Still I cannot but feel that some of those who publicly rejected my conclusions had not carefully examined the ground upon which those conclusions rested.

Publication of
first Report.

Some objections
to conclusions
therein not suffi-
ciently grounded.

2. It has been objected that my Report was written from photographs of the MS., and not from the MS. itself. I admit that it would have been more to the advantage of my argument had I had the opportunity, since afforded me, of examining the whole of the Psalter, instead of three or four articles in it.* It is, however, highly satisfactory to me to find, after a most careful examination of every letter, every word, every punctuation, and every drawing in the Psalter, and a careful collation of it throughout with the texts of the Gallican, the Roman, and Vulgate versions, that my previous conclusions as to its antiquity, so far from being shaken in the least degree, are amply confirmed. I adhere to my previous conviction, that the Utrecht Psalter was written before the arrival of St. Augustine in England; in other words, before the close of the sixth century. If my judgment be incorrect in this respect, then those of Archbishop Usher, one of the most eminent palæographers and theologians England has ever produced,—of Sir Robert Cotton, the former owner of the MS., whose knowledge of MSS. the authorities of the Museum will not venture to dispute,—the Librarian of the Utrecht Library, or who ever recorded in the volume De Ridder's gift of it to the Library,—of Herr Kist,—of Baron Van Westreenen,—of Dr. Haenel,—of Professor Royaards,—and of other able palæographers, must be equally at fault. The opinions of such men are entitled to grave consideration, and are not to be rashly set aside. I myself certainly incline to their opinions in preference to those of younger men of the present day, who, to say the least, are inexperienced in comparison

Confirmation of
first opinion as to
age of the Psalter.

The opinion sup-
ported by many
eminent palæo-
graphers.

* I have to apologise to the Rev. Professor Jones of St. Beuno's College for having unwittingly assigned to Professor Arntz the chromolithograph of the Athanasian Creed. I find it was made not only at the suggestion, but at the cost of Professor Jones, and I gladly take this opportunity of correcting my error, and thanking the Rev. Professor for many valuable hints.

Incomplete knowledge of ancient MSS. possessed by the objectors.

with the great scholars and archæologists whom I have just named, and whose acquaintance with MSS. of the fifth and sixth centuries is necessarily limited in the extreme.

3. Without wishing to underrate the abilities and judgment of those who have passed opinions upon the age of the Utrecht Psalter, and given those opinions to the world in the Reports addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum, I should be glad to know how many of them have had any such training in palæography as to be able to judge of a sixth century MS. from familiarity with MSS. of that age. A few only of such MSS. are to be found in the great libraries abroad; scarcely any here in England; still less of the description of the Utrecht Psalter. To give their opinion any real weight, it was absolutely necessary that they should have had some means of instituting a comparison, not between this MS. and those of a later age, but between MSS. of the same age; and yet it is certain that more than one of my critics have had no such criterion for guiding their judgment, and have passed judgment, with decision, on no other acquaintance with early MSS. than such as are to be found in the libraries of this country. In no one instance do they more than express an impression that the MS. in question is not so early as I contend that it is; but how far that impression has been derived from a careful study of MSS. of the fifth and sixth centuries,—how far their judgment has been framed by a careful comparison of this with other early copies they utterly fail to inform their readers.

Inconsistent character of the objecting Reports; being deficient in careful and rigid examination.

4. The Dean of Westminster, to whom we owe the publication of these Reports, has wisely, I think, offered no opinion, though we may safely assume he would not have afforded them his patronage and name had he not approved of their contents. Most of us see things in different lights. I may be blinded by prejudice, but the deduction I should draw from them would be very different from his. So far from my previous convictions having been shaken, I feel, on the contrary, that they have been confirmed; and this, I hope to make plain to my readers. If what I have seen in these Reports be the only arguments that can be brought against the early date assigned to the Utrecht Psalter, they seem to me no less futile than they are inconsistent and contradictory. To speak frankly, they are not creditable, in my opinion, to the palæographical skill and experience of those whose names they bear. They are deficient in that careful investigation and rigid examination which so grave and difficult a question as this demands, and which alone could give value and importance to any criticism, on whatever side it might appear. If judgment in this matter could be borne down by weight of names, I also, in imitation of the same proceeding, could have obtained similar aid in favour of my own views; for I do not stand alone. I have been offered the opinions of archæological scholars and palæographers who rank in as high a position as any of those engaged under the Dean of Westminster. But in this controversy it is not numbers, but experience, that must carry the day. On two subjects, however, Theology and Art, on which I do not trust myself to express any opinion, I have been supplied with valuable evidence, which I append to this reply.

Appendix I. and II.

CHAPTER II.

Contradictory opinions set forth in the objecting Reports.

5. Before I proceed to enforce my previous opinions with arguments, I wish to draw attention to the contradictory opinions put forth in the Reports issued by the Dean of Westminster.

Mr. E. A. Bond, it appears, concludes that the MS. is not earlier than the end of the eighth century, and is disposed to assign it to the ninth.

Mr. Thompson thinks it cannot be assigned to an earlier age than the close of the eighth century.

Mr. Coxe sees no reason to conclude that the MS. was written before the commencement of the ninth century.

Mr. Lewis does not feel warranted in assigning it to an earlier date than the ninth century.

Sir Digby Wyat concludes that its date is certainly not earlier than the seventh or eighth century, probably about the middle of the eighth.

Mr. Westwood concludes that it is the eighth or ninth century at earliest.

Mr. Dickinson does not express any opinion of the age of the MS.

Canon Swainson concludes that it cannot be much earlier than the middle of the ninth century, and may be considerably later.

6. So *two* Reports assign it to the eighth (a date which puts the forgery of the ninth century entirely out of the question), *two* assign it to the eighth or ninth, *two* to the ninth, *one* much later than the ninth, and *one* offers no opinion on the subject.

7. But as a detailed examination of these Reports will be found in the sequel of this reply, I need not at present detain my readers with special criticisms. One thing only I have here to observe, which may possibly enable all who are interested in the inquiry to bring to the examination of the subject minds unbiassed by any theological learning. Whatever be the result arrived at with regard to the antiquity of the Psalter, it must be remembered that it does not touch the question of the age of the MS. of the Athanasian Creed; for whether this MS. be the work of the sixth century, as I contend that it is, or a copy of a MS. of that date, as others think, it will still presuppose that a MS. of the Creed existed in that century at least. That the character of the handwriting belongs to the sixth century no one will be so hardy as to deny; that it ceased to be used afterwards in MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries, except for titles and colophons, and that a totally different character of handwriting then prevailed, is equally certain. Will Mr. Bond, or any of his associated labourers, affirm that it was the custom during the eighth or ninth centuries to produce MSS. on ecclesiastical or homilistic subjects written throughout, as the Utrecht Psalter is entirely, in Rustic capitals? If, then, this Psalter is neither an original of the sixth century, nor a copy from one of the same date, we are driven to the absurdity of supposing that some Anglo-Saxon scribe, for no conceivable purpose, put together this Psalter, with a variety of Canticles besides, in a laborious and obsolete hand, and then had it ornamented, at a great cost, with one hundred and sixty-six drawings of highly artificial and elaborate designs,—designs which indicate a perfect familiarity with the habits of life, the manners, houses, and animals of a country with which it was perfectly impossible that any Anglo-Saxon artist of that age could have been acquainted. To render all this skill, labour, and cost as useless as possible, we must suppose that the scribe not only deliberately adopted a character for his MS. which had not only become obsolete, but a version of the Psalter (the Gallican) that was not then adopted in the Anglo-Saxon Church; that he omitted the ordinary means, employed in Anglo-Saxon Psalters, of an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss; and all this we are to suppose was done in the ninth century, when the land was troubled with the invasions of the Danes, and when King Alfred unequivocally declares that the use of the Latin tongue was scarcely known in England. Such are the absurdities involved in this hypothesis; and all this extravagance is invented in order to account for a Latin copy of the Athanasian Creed appearing in a MS. of the sixth century. Why any Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Frankish monk (if such a contradiction ever existed) should be so sedulous in palming off on his unsuspecting contemporaries a forged copy of the Athanasian Creed, and what there was then in the circumstances of the Anglo-Saxon Church that should prompt so dishonest a proceeding, Mr. Bond and his followers do not venture to inform us. Nor is there anything assuredly in the Canons or Councils of that age that would lead us to infer that such a forgery would have had its reward. Now, can any sensible man imagine why, if such a forger wished to recommend

Age of the MS. of Athanasian Creed not affected by age of the Psalter.

Certainty of the handwriting being of the sixth century.

Absurdities involved in the hypothesis that the MS. is of the ninth century.

No external evidence in support of the supposition that the Athanasian Creed is forged.

this Creed for its antiquity, he should have taken this laborious, expensive, and roundabout way to compass his purpose? or why, having copied a Psalter in a disguised and obsolete hand, it was necessary for him to increase that cost and that labour by adding to it twelve Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, (to say nothing of the Apocryphal Psalm,) before he could come at the sole object for which all this was undertaken, the introduction of the Athanasian Creed? That is a forgery so intricate and so deeply planned as to be wholly irreconcilable with the intellectual habits and manners of the age in which it is supposed to have originated.

Uniform and consistent character of the MS. itself.

8. Other conjectures are no less untenable. The whole MS. from beginning to end is in the same Rustic writing, in the same style of illumination, and, what is more important, it is written on the same species of vellum, which is at least so unusual in the estimation of Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson as to deserve the title of leathery. The question then is, in fact, reduced to the only tenable hypotheses, which do not violate common sense and probability,—Is the MS. an original, or a literal copy from an original, of the sixth century?

CHAPTER III.

(1.) Antiquity and description of the MS. itself.

9. I proceed to describe the MS. which is invested with so much interest. It is an oblong quarto, measuring thirteen inches in length by ten in breadth. The vellum on which the Psalter, the Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, and the two Creeds are written, is of a delicate and uniform texture; so fine, indeed, that the writing and drawings on one side of the page can be easily seen and read on the other. It is quite different from that containing the fragments of the Gospels, bound up in the same volume, and from the vellum generally used in the eighth, ninth, and succeeding centuries. It contains the entire Psalter in Latin, without Prefaces or Prolegomena, according to the GALLICAN version, or St. Jerome's more correct translation made about the year 389, from Origen's Hexapla.*

Contents of the volume.

10. The Psalms are followed by twelve Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds; viz., (1) *Canticum Isaiaë Prophetæ*; (2) *Canticum Isaiaë Prophetæ*; (3) *Canticum Annæ*; (4) *Canticum Moysi Prophetæ*; (5) *Canticum Abacuc Prophetæ*; (6) *Canticum Moysi ad filios Israhel*; (7) *Benedictio Trium Puerorum*; (8) *Te Deum laudamus*; (9) *Benedictus Dominus*; (10) *The Magnificat*; (11) *Nunc dimittis*; (12) *Gloria in Excelsis*; (13) *Oratio Dominica*; (14) *The Symbolum Apostolorum*; (15) *Fides Catholica*, commonly known as *The Athanasian Creed*. And at the end is found the Apocryphal Psalm commencing "*Pusillus eram inter fratres meos.*"

Character of the handwriting;

11. The text of the Psalter, and of all the Canticles and Creeds, are written in Rustic Roman capitals prevalent in Europe from the third century, or earlier, to about the end of the seventh century. In titles and colophons of MSS. it appears still later; but never, so far as I have been able to discover, in the full text of later MSS. It is commonly called the Rustic hand; but the titles of each Psalm,† its commencing words, and the initial letters of each verse, are written throughout in red ‡ uncials, a little larger than the text. In every

the titles;
the initial letters;

* Jerome's first version of the Psalter, which was made at the request of Pope Damasus about the year 383, obtained the name of the ROMAN Psalter. At the urgent request of Paula and Eustochia, he commenced a new and more thorough reversion, which is supposed to have been completed about the year 389. This revision is called the GALLICAN version, from the fact that Gregory of Tours having introduced it into France between the years 580 and 595.—It was however used in Britain before that period.—The Hebrew version was commenced after 391. A table of the variations in the texts of the Gallican, the Roman, the Hebraic, the Vetus, and the Conciliatum versions, will be found at the end of these remarks.

† The titles to the Psalms do not commence until the fifth.

‡ Down to the 17th Psalm the commencing words are in gold uncials, and were certainly introduced after the Rustic text was written. I may observe that golden writing in a MS. is no proof of its want of age, as Mr. Bond suggests; for it was the practice in producing such writing for the scribe in the first instance to write with a pen the words

page there are three columns of uneven lines. No space is preserved between the words, and some of the words extend into two lines, some into two columns, and some into two pages. At the conclusion of every verse a large space is left, and a smaller space often occurs in the middle of a verse to mark the end of a sentence. The words are generally written without abbreviations, but those which occur are almost always abridged in the same way. The letters are uniform throughout, and are generally made of two or more disconnected strokes,—cursive writing not being then in use, and therefore not familiar to the scribe. The shape of the letters denotes high antiquity, especially the A without a line in the middle; the E and F with scarcely any cross lines; the G only distinguished from C by a sort of comma or cedillion underneath; the H occasionally formed like a K; T with a cross at the top very short; L constantly higher than the other letters, except Y; the Y, rising above all the other letters, has sometimes a point above it (see Plate 18 B, line 4, in CŶTHARA; 83 A, line 9, TŶMPANO; 83 B, line 5, CŶTHARA; and sometimes is without any point). These taken together are evidences of great age, as may be seen in the “Fragmenta et Picturæ Codicis Vergilii Vaticanæ,” and elsewhere.

columns, lines, and spaces;

abbreviations;

shape of the letters;

all being evidences of great age.

12. It is further to be remarked that there are many clerical errors, as well as words left unfinished in the text, most of which however appear to have been corrected when the MS. was punctuated. Many errors in the titles of the Psalms and Canticles have been left uncorrected.

Clerical errors.

13. It may be here remarked that the writing occasionally varies so much as to look like the work of different scribes. In some pages it is very delicate, in others it is coarse and bold; but this diversity may have arisen from a change of ink or pen.

Occasional variation of the writing.

14. In the orthography prepositions used as prefixes retain their final consonant unchanged, instead of modifying it in accordance with the initial consonant of the words to which they are prefixed. Thus we have *adnuncio*, *adfligo*, *adsumsit*, *adpropero*, *adfero*, *adflicto*, *adtraxi*, and the like. In other compounds we have *compungar*, *comparatus*, *conlocavit*, *inrideant*, *inlumina*, *inlustra*, *inmensus*, *inmortalis*, and *inmaculatus*. Again we have *obprobium*, and the old form of *optenuit* for *obtinuit*.

Orthography of prefixes.

15. In one or two instances a final *d* is used for *t*, as in *capud* for *caput*, and *reliquid* for *reliquit*. *O* is used for *u*, as *fulgora* for *fulgura*; *p* for *b*, as *subplanta*; *v* for *b*, and *b* for *v*. *H* is inserted before some words beginning with *a* and *o*, as *harena*, *holera*.

Mutable letters.

16. Several other less important orthographic peculiarities of the MS. are found in inscriptions in the Catacombs of Rome. This orthography of the Psalter points towards its great antiquity. Indeed, I have not met with a single word in it which is purely monkish, or for which authority cannot be adduced, either from the inscriptions in the Catacombs, or from the MSS. of Virgil or Prudentius. I have made a note of every variation in the spelling and of the peculiarity of the MS., thinking it may lead to the locality where and the time when this MS. was written.

Some similarity of orthography to inscriptions in Catacombs of Rome.

17. Diphthongs are generally extended *AE*; but in two or three instances they occur with a cedillion, thus, *E*.

Diphthongs.

CHAPTER IV.

18. As some portion of my argument respecting the age of the Utrecht Psalter depends upon the date of the drawings, it is necessary that I should enter into the subject more

(2.) By the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter;

in red, vermillion, or cinnabar, and afterwards for the chrysographer or gold writer to place on them with his brush the golden liquid. The application of gold was frequently not applied for years after the red was written, and a word was sometimes left half finished. I have seen an instance where a large ornamental letter was only half aureated. The gold mounting of the initial letter B was certainly the last touch of the chrysographer, perhaps after the volume was bound.

the British Museum tracings not trustworthy copies.

Variety and originality of treatment in the drawings ;

their appropriateness to the subject depicted.

The drawings designed by one mind, but executed by several persons.

Mr. Westwood's suggestion, that the drawings are copies of an earlier series, untenable. Sir Digby Wyatt's hypothesis at variance with the whole character of the illustrations.

fully than I did in my Report to Lord Romilly. I had not then seen the originals. I drew my inference of their age from the tracings of them which I had seen at the British Museum, and which certainly do not give so exact or trustworthy a resemblance of the originals as might be desired.

19. These drawings amount to 166, and are remarkable for variety and originality of treatment, unlike any of the MSS. of the seventh, eighth, or ninth centuries produced in this country. They are made by a pen or fine brush in brown bistre. Each is descriptive of the Psalm, Canticle, or Creed to which it is prefixed, and extends over the space left vacant by the scribe for the drawing, and in many instances encroaches upon the text. Sometimes the artist gives the reins to his imagination, and is not easily followed; at other times he adheres to a literal interpretation of the words before him. For instance, in the illustration of Psalm lxiii (64th of our English version), v. 4, on folio 35 B, the Psalmist writes, "Quia exacuerunt ut gladium linguas suas." This figure of speech the artist has exemplified by two men at a grindstone whetting a sword, while another is polishing the like weapon. In the same verse the words "intenderunt arcum rem amaram," are illustrated by three men bending their bows to shoot their arrows. The illustration of Psalm xi (12 of English version) is remarkable. Four men are working a machine like a windlass, and ten men running round a circular object like a wheel. It was thus the artist depicted the words of v. 9, "In circuitu impii ambulans." Surely these illustrations show that they were made expressly for these Psalms, and could not possibly have been selected from a collection of drawings applied to a different purpose. A similar remark will apply to all the other drawings.

20. The designs, though fanciful, are free and bold, and they are unquestionably the creation of the same mind, although not executed by the same hand; for more than one draftsman was clearly employed on the work. The uniformity of design is apparent from the conformity in the shapes of the buildings, furniture, costumes, weapons, both offensive and defensive, found throughout, and by the different degrees of skill and merit with which many of the drawings are executed. In several instances the original idea of the chief designer may be traced by his sketch at the foot of the page; and these sketches are always much more graceful and masterly than those of the subordinate artist. It is then, I think, beyond dispute that these drawings could not be "*later additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist from an early classic series of drawings*," as Mr. Westwood suggests. Nor again are they what Sir Digby Wyatt considers, "that in them may be recognised the earliest trace of those peculiar fluttered draperies, elongated proportions, and flourished touches which became such a distinct style in later *Anglo-Saxon* illuminations. So different is it, both from the Anglo-Hibernian work prevalent in England (?) up to the advent of St. Augustine, and from contemporary imitation of the antique practised by Byzantine, Latin, Lombardic, or Frankish illuminators, that the conclusion seems, as it were, forced upon us that it can have been originated in no other way than by setting the already most skilful penman, but altogether ignorant artist, to reproduce, as he best could, the *freely painted miniatures of the books, sacred and profane, imported, as we know, in abundance from Rome during the seventh and eighth centuries*." Nothing can be more at variance with the whole character of these illustrations than such an hypothesis. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that when Sir Digby Wyatt ventured on such an assumption that he never could have examined the MS. with any degree of attention. To use Mr. Westwood's words, "had Mr. Wyatt, however, attentively studied the Utrecht Psalter *itself*, especially such of its drawings as the triple Crucifixion and the group of Fates, he would never have ventured to suggest that its outlines and drawings were the efforts of an unskilful artist."

21. In my opinion these drawings are conceived and executed by a highly intelligent artist, who, in undertaking to illustrate the Psalms and the various pieces in the Psalter, derived the forms of animate and inanimate objects there portrayed from actual knowledge, and was personally acquainted with the scenes and objects he depicts. I think it impossible that he could have been indebted to some earlier delineator, as has been suggested. He must have been familiar with Jewish observances, manners, and customs, or he never would have introduced such ornaments as an *umbrella*, wholly foreign to colder latitudes. He must have been well acquainted with Palestine, its inhabitants, animals, peculiarities, and buildings. In proof of this, many arguments could be given, but one or two must suffice; and if the reader requires further information on this point he must turn to the volume itself or the autotype. Thus, in the illustration of Psalm xiv. (plate 8 A) the artist gives a sketch of the Holy Sepulchre, and shows the position of the Saviour's body in the tomb. This drawing proves, I think, that he must have been well acquainted with the spot, inasmuch as his elevation of the building (making due allowance for its departure from the rules of perspective) fully accords with the ground plan which was sketched by Arculfus at the latter end of the seventh century. Another representation of the Holy Sepulchre occurs as part of the illustration of the Apostles' Creed, showing that the artist drew from actual knowledge, and not from another drawing; for at the foot of the page where the last illustration occurs he has given a sketch in outline of the tomb to guide the illuminator who was working under him.

The drawings executed by an artist well acquainted with Oriental objects, scenes, and customs.

22. Nor, again, can any one who has any knowledge on the subject inspect the original drawings* in this Psalter and believe that they were executed by an *Anglo-Saxon*. They have none of the peculiarities of the delineation of the Anglo-Saxon era in England. It is true that the figures and attitudes are occasionally out of drawing and the structures out of the perpendicular, but not a line of the strict Gothic can be discovered in them. The buildings, furniture, costume, weapons, armour, musical and agricultural implements, do not belong to Britain. There is nothing in them indigenous to this country, yet Mr. Westwood fixes the age of this Psalter as late as the ninth century wholly on these drawings, and declares that the illustrations are *Anglo-Saxon*. I am at a loss to understand upon what ground he builds his theory. Can he produce any Anglo-Saxon art of that period in any way comparable with that of this Psalter? Did the illiterate age of Alfred give birth to so much excellence in art when its scholarship was so circumscribed and at so low an ebb? That drawings of the character such as these were not then known in England is evident from the fact that more than one copy was made of them. I allude to MS. Harl. 603, of the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century; the Eadwine Psalter at Cambridge, said to have been made in the twelfth century; another in Lord Ashburnham's Library; and one in the National Library in Paris.

The opinion that the drawings are of Anglo-Saxon origin unfounded.

Mr. Westwood's theory;

its inadmissibility.

23. To assume that the Psalter is the work of a native artist because it was found in this country is as absurd as it would be to insist that any Grecian or Roman gem found in England was the work of an English artist because it cannot be proved how it came hither. I repeat that it is quite clear that every object introduced into these illuminations was familiar to the artist, who sought for nothing out of his own personal knowledge. Throughout the 166 drawings the same shaped buildings, be they temples or houses standing alone or in clusters, cities, or embattled walls, are of the same style, varied however with considerable skill according to the requirements of the subject. The furniture, whether it be tables, beds, couches, or chairs, is of the same pattern. The weapons of war and implements

Familiarity of the artist with the objects introduced.

* It is a fact, much to be lamented, that many of the drawings have been renovated. Some have been nearly effaced and several bear distinct evidence of renovation either in part or in whole.

Mr. Howard
Payn's confirma-
tion of this
assertion.

of peace show the same mind. The costumes of the men, whether warriors or civilians, and the garments of the women and children, are of the same shape. The hills and mountains are nearly all conical. The animals, domestic and wild, are evidently drawn from actual knowledge. Even the Deity and His Angels, the Devil and his Evil Spirits, all spring from the same fertile imagination,—certainly of Eastern views,—or, as Mr. Howard Payn (a gentleman perfectly familiar with Eastern scenery) expresses it, are redolent of Egypt and Palestine. “There is hardly,” he justly remarks, “an object that would not be perfectly familiar to any one living in those countries, and, moreover, there is hardly an illustration to be found which could have been produced by one not familiar with them. The animals drawing the plough are seldom oxen; they are nearly in every case the Egyptian buffaloes, or the humped African cattle; and where an exception occurs, the small kine and the simple plough are introduced, such as are commonly to be met with in Palestine to this day. The sheep and goats, are invariably the products of those countries; lions, bears, boars, stags, and foxes or jackals represent the beasts of the field; the pelican, the eagle, and the stork and the ibis appear as fowls of the air; and the crocodile and serpent represent creeping things. The well-bred high-spirited horses of unmistakeable origin, the equally well-known cur that rushes out at strangers from an Arab village,—the wild ass of the desert,—the Arab tomb, always so conspicuous, and an object in an Eastern landscape,—the naked workers in the fields,—the strange gods given us as Apis and Minevis,—the sacred bulls,—the peculiar rendering of the Sun and Moon as human faces, probably as Osiris and Isis, the latter having almost invariably the branching horns of the goddess, the common symbol of her in her own country,—the single river full of fish,—the Jordan or the Nile, probably the latter,—seem to show an inhabitant of Egypt; while again the hills, always the rugged, bare stratified limestone rocks of Palestine, apparently so familiar to the artist that he seems only to indicate them,—the trees, the palm, the olive, not the smaller European variety, but the gnarled old sturdy trunks of Palestine, the cedar, the thick and well-defined spreading tree of the Lebanon; the walls of the towns always the walls of Jerusalem, square blocked, towered and embattled,—all convince me he was equally acquainted with the scenery of the Holy Land; and such local touches as the passionate grief of the widow in the illustration of the CIX Psalm (E. V.) who hangs her ornaments and articles of clothing on the tree under which she is weeping on her husband’s grave, a common eastern custom, show more than a passing acquaintance with the manners of the inhabitants.”

The Syrian land-
scape seen through
Egyptian sur-
roundings.

24. “So prominent indeed is the Syrian landscape that at first sight the thoroughly Egyptian surroundings of the artist might not have sufficient attention directed to them; but I would ask you to turn to the XCIII Psalm,—to illustrate the ‘floods have risen’ we have an evident allusion to the inundation of the Nile. You will see the old rendering of a river god holding a reversed water jar given in quite an unusual manner. You will notice that we have here two gods each presiding over a lake, the streams from which unite and cause a flood; two Atlantes, after the manner of the supporters of the Denderah Zodiac, rescuing the land from destruction by raising it on their shoulders.”

25. “There can be little doubt that we have in these two lakes the traditional sources of the Nile preserved to us by Herodotus; and to show that it is not an accidental rendering, we have it again repeated in the XCVIII Psalm (English version), in the illustration of the passage ‘Let the floods clap their hands.’”

26. “I will also ask you to compare many of the instruments of agriculture, the method of building, the triangular harp, the lute, the double pipe, the hand drums, even the cattle goad and the weaving machine, the wine jars, the cups, and other articles presented

“ in these drawings with sketches from the tombs of the Beni Hassan or from Thebes, and
 “ I think you will be convinced that we have here depicted the common surroundings of
 “ Egyptian life.”

27. “ And even to go a little beyond the common surroundings, we find the unicorn,
 “ always a puzzle to the naturalist, given as the ibex, who so often figures on the tombs
 “ with a single horn; the jaws of hell are only another form of the Egyptian monster
 “ ‘Typho,’ the ‘swallower of the sea,’ the ‘all devourer;’ while the wind organ, so far
 “ from being an argument for a western origin of the drawings, is directly the other
 “ way, that instrument having been long known in the east before its introduction into
 “ Europe; it was described by St. Jerome, and an example may still be seen, says
 “ M. Lacroix, on the obelisk at Constantinople erected in the time of Theodosius the
 “ Great.” *

28. “ Having thus indicated the two countries common to the drawings, let me,”
 continues Mr. Howard Payn, “carry the investigation a step further. It will appear
 “ that the common and ordinary objects represented are nearly always Egyptian,—the
 “ bolder and more striking objects, the hills and trees for example, being drawn from
 “ Palestine originals. Had the artist lived in the latter country he would hardly have gone
 “ out of his way to have introduced so many Egyptian details of no general interest, but
 “ if we allow that he lived habitually in Egypt, and had frequently travelled to the Holy
 “ City, or had remained there long enough to become acquainted with the general features
 “ of the country, the reason would be apparent. Let me adopt this view, as it seems a
 “ probable one, and let us see whether we can find any indications, supposing he lived in
 “ Egypt, of the particular part in which he resided. In the first place it was in all
 “ probability in a seaport town. We have so many illustrations of ships, evidently not mere
 “ river boats, from their strong build, their high bulwarks, their heavy masts and sails,
 “ and their anchors, very suggestive of the high-prowed vessels of the Pompeii frescoes;
 “ and in the next place it must have been under the power of the Romans, for we find
 “ Roman temples, soldiers, armour, furniture, and domestic vessels. In what part of
 “ Egypt therefore must we look for a city combining these several requirements. I think
 “ it would not be difficult to hazard a speculation, but I would rather let our artist tell
 “ his own story. Can we find any evidence at all, however slight it may be, in the
 “ drawings themselves, that will enable us to fix upon the actual spot. Singularly
 “ enough we have objects represented which show very strongly such indications. In
 “ illustrating the XXXIV Psalm (E.V.) to represent the great troubles of the righteous
 “ we have depicted several instruments of martyrdom,—the cross, the sword, the chain, the
 “ rack,—which, when viewed with the next object I will point out, strongly suggest the
 “ persecutions of the Diocletian Era (A.D. 284), still said to be a chronological era among
 “ the Copts. The other object I allude to is the emblem of the pride of man, and the
 “ exaltation of the wicked, Psalm LXXIV. (E.V.), a pillar surmounted by the statue of
 “ a Roman soldier. I think no one who has seen the column of Diocletian at Alexandria,
 “ now called Pompey’s Pillar, can fail to recognise this object; it was one probably
 “ before the eyes of the artist at the time he drew, and he introduces it over and over
 “ again. In it he saw the pride and power of a Roman conqueror, and a cruel persecutor
 “ of the early Christians. It is true there is no statue on it now, but nearly all authorities

Probability of the
 drawings being
 executed by a
 dweller in Alex-
 andria, well ac-
 quainted with
 Syria.

* It may be of some interest, as to the antiquity of the architectural details, to point out that the remarkable representation of the temple with the pediment and fleur de lys ornament is similar in these particulars to the temple on the reverse of the coins of Probus (A.D. 276), who had been raised to the purple by the armies of the east. It is possible both have a common origin.

“ agree that it once had one; a foot of which is said to be still *in situ*; and perhaps we
 “ have in these drawings the only representation of the monument as it originally stood.
 “ These various inductions lead to the conclusion that these drawings were, in all probability,
 “ done in that flourishing seat of learning, Alexandria.”

29. These facts that Mr. Howard Payn so acutely points out, together with some others to which I shall presently direct the reader's attention, are sufficient to satisfy me, if no others existed, that the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter were not the production of an *Anglo-Saxon artist*, but in all probability that of an inhabitant of Alexandria, or of one familiar with Eastern manners, customs, and scenery.

The total absence of monastic insignia in the drawings a proof of the early age of the Psalter.

30. In confirmation of my opinion respecting the age of the Utrecht Psalter, I must again draw upon Mr. Howard Payn's intelligence. Having examined the geographical part of the question, he draws attention to the traces he finds of the school of theology to which the artist belonged, and what traditions he has followed. It can be detected by means of these drawings; and he points out the total absence of any monastic dress,—a fact which several other competent critics have also noticed. Surely an Anglo-Frankish or an Anglo-Saxon draughtsman would not have omitted in 166 illuminations of the eighth or ninth century, when monasticism everywhere prevailed and monks were the only artists, some reference to monkery either in dress or in character. I know of no instance where an illuminator during the Anglo-Saxon era has neglected to introduce the order of which he was a member. But in these drawings lay and ecclesiastical costumes cannot be distinguished. The flowing robe and unshaven crown are common to all. Can so much be said of the illuminations of the eighth or ninth centuries which occur in Roman Psalters? There the tonsured head, and the episcopal, priestly, or monkish habits, are perpetually introduced; but in these drawings there is no indication whatever of the churchman, no traces of his profession by his costume or type, no mitres, crosiers, or ecclesiastical pallium. These and many other facts, both theological and geographical, seem to show with very reasonable probability that the artist though not an ecclesiastic was educated in the Alexandrian Church, where St. Jerome's second translation of the Psalter, commonly known as the Gallican version, the Canticles, and professions were commonly read and acknowledged.

Mr. Payn's letter, Appendix II.

31. In the extracts I have given I have scarcely done justice to Mr. Howard Payn's critical and sagacious remarks. I must therefore refer the reader to his letter in full printed in Appendix II., but I must make one more extract from it here.

Mr. Howard Payn's attempt to fix the date of the drawings.

32. In connexion with the artist's leaning to the Alexandria Church, Mr. Howard Payn endeavours to show the time when the drawings were produced. He says, “To attempt to
 “ fix this accurately from internal evidence is no doubt impossible. That evidence is too
 “ slight; but if the history of the Church of Alexandria is turned to, I think some light
 “ may be thrown upon the question. Firstly, then, it must be remembered that
 “ St. Athanasius died in A.D. 373; the Creed having, it is said, been taken, at any rate,
 “ from the teaching of that bishop. I need not go to an earlier date to start from.
 “ Supposing, then, the drawings were, as I have attempted to show, produced in Alexandria,
 “ I think I may with equal probability fix 638 A.D. as the *latest* date that could be assigned
 “ to them. The latter is, as you will remember, the year in which Alexandria was
 “ destroyed, the great library burnt, and the theological schools scattered. At this time,
 “ too, the Holy City itself was in the hands of the Infidel; and pilgrimages, for a time
 “ at any rate, impossible. Had the artist lived then, and had he been compelled to fly to
 “ Europe, in the drawings of so accurate an observer we should not fail to find some
 “ indications of new objects and scenery among which he had come; but, as far as I can
 “ see, no such indications exist. The whole of the drawings show Eastern surroundings;

“ and I think it not unreasonable to conclude that he carried out his labour of love
 “ undisturbed by fire or sword. Turning for a moment to the drawing at the head of the
 “ Creed which appears to have provoked much discussion, I think the view I have adopted
 “ will explain what it probably refers to.”

33. “ Before the death of St. Athanasius we find he returned, in 361, to Alexandria after
 “ his seven years exile; and we are told that he immediately held a synod or convocation
 “ within his diocese, at which Eusebius of Vercellæ was present, and that the Nicene Creed,
 “ drawn up in 325, was confirmed. After the Council of Nice the doctrines of Arius had
 “ gained rather than lost ground, and it was in the struggle against this heresy
 “ St. Athanasius had suffered so many misfortunes. What is more probable than that the
 “ doctrines should have been again condemned at this, the first opportunity afforded him,
 “ and that the draughtsman at Alexandria should have depicted in his own way the
 “ provincial council of his own Church, in which the substance, if not the actual form,
 “ of the Fides Catholica, so long known in connexion with the name of his own bishop,
 “ had been asserted.”

34. “ It does not, however follow that the drawings were made at so early a date, though
 “ as far as the Roman buildings, dresses, arms, and furniture are concerned we might
 “ agree with the date marked on the fly-leaf of the Psalter, and allow them to be of the
 “ age of Valentinian; and we have the presence of the traditional Christian art to deal with,
 “ and this will bring us to a somewhat later period.”

35. Nor does it follow that the Alexandrian draughtsman, himself in the midst of such a
 school of learning and theology, should have required any such assistance as that of a
 council; but as he seems to have had in his mind the few traditional renderings that
 then existed in other matters he probably did so in this. Other signs seem to show a
 considerable lapse of time after the first-named council. Several matters enumerated by
 Mr. Howard Payn point more to the SIXTH century than the FIFTH; and *it is to the latter*
part of the sixth century he would venture to assign them, that is to say, an intermediate
 date between the last-mentioned council and the destruction of Alexandria. “To speak
 “ more positively in dealing with such early productions,” writes Mr. Howard Payn, “is
 “ impossible; experience must necessarily be limited. I have therefore thought it right to
 “ place before you the grounds upon which I have based my opinion, in order that you may
 “ judge for yourself the sufficiency of them. I feel that every gleam of light that can be
 “ obtained from these drawings will assist in illuminating a very interesting, though obscure,
 “ question; and that we should be neglecting a very important piece of evidence on the
 “ whole discussion if they do not receive a proper consideration.”

36. If I required almost positive proof that the drawings were not the composition of
 an *Anglo-Saxon* artist, I should point to that illustrative of the Psalm, 27th of the Psalter or
 the 28th of the English version (plate 15 B), where King David is represented ascending
 into the Temple, followed by an Angel holding an umbrella over him. This symbol of
 sovereignty had, in all probability, been used by the Jews from the time of Alexander the
 Great, if not earlier. It is well known that during the contentions for supremacy between
 the successors of Alexander the Great the Jewish territory became the prey, not only of the
 Egyptians, but of the Kings of Syria of the Macedonian family. During their reign the
 Jews readily accommodated themselves to the manners of the Greeks, and chiefly when
 Ptolemeus Lagus, father of Ptolemy Philadelphus, brought numbers of them into Egypt.
 More heathen practices were introduced under Antiochus Epiphanes, when (as we read in
 Maccabees), all things being held under his sway, the Jews imitated the Greek customs,
 partly through fear and partly through the allurements of pleasure. It was some time
 during these epochs, or rather on the collapse of the Jewish Republic, that the use of the

Further proof
 of their not being
 of Anglo-Saxon
 origin;

umbrella was introduced into their religious ceremonies.* It is therefore quite natural that an artist who was illustrating Jewish customs in the sixth century should have supposed that the Jews at the time of David had similar customs to those then in use in the Holy City, and therefore placed an umbrella over his head.

from pictures
of four-horse
chariots, river
gods, signs of the
Zodiac, &c. ;

37. Did any reader ever see chariots or quadrigæ drawn by four horses abreast, like that in which the Almighty stands depicted, (plate 37 B) in an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the eighth or ninth century, or the "Sella lectica," at folios 2 B, 35 B., which was an Eastern luxury, not introduced into Rome until towards the end of the Republic? Then turn to the River Gods sketched on folios 32 B and 56 B; surely such imaginary figures, purely classical, were never portrayed by an *Anglo-Saxon* artist. Again, whenever there is an opportunity of introducing the heavenly bodies, the artist has availed himself of the opportunity. He represents the Sun as Osiris and the Moon as Isis, with her horns, and their Egyptian characteristics. These two luminaries seldom appear in these drawings as they are commonly represented in Europe during the ninth century. And when, I would also ask, did an *Anglo-Saxon* artist think of introducing the signs of the Zodiac, a favourite symbol of the Greeks?

the same proof
afforded by the
character of the
costumes, which
are not Anglo-
Saxon ;

38. The costumes which appear in the drawings are certainly not *Anglo-Saxon*, but wholly classical, partaking more of the Grecian than of the Roman shape. The *pallium*, essentially Greek, frequently occurs. The Deity and principal personages generally wear it, sometimes with the *læna*, a Grecian mantle, thrown over it. The toga, a loose flowing robe without sleeves, covering the whole body, close at the bottom, but open at the top down to the girdle, and thrown over the left shoulder, does not often occur; but the *tunica* is often seen; I mean that worn at the decline of the Empire, with sleeves, fringed at the hands and reaching down to the ancle, with fringe at the bottom similar to those seen on monochromatic vase paintings.† In the costumes which seem to belong to the priesthood, where men are engaged in offering sacrifice at the altar, the robes bear not the slightest resemblance

* It is said that the umbrella was used at the Feast of Tabernacles, in remembrance of the protection which God gave to the Israelites in passing through the Desert in a cloud, under the shadow of which they made their journey, as under a tent, in safety. If this be the case, it must have been after they were corrupted through idolatry by strange and superstitious rites. This one in particular they probably derived from the Bacchic mysteries, the umbrella being sacred to Bacchus. In the money of Agrippa the Elder, struck by the Hellenistic Jews, the umbrella appears on the obverse side of the coin, and a tent on the reverse. The reader desirous of pursuing this interesting subject is referred to a very learned work on the subject by Paciaudi, on the carrying of the umbrella, "De Umbrellæ gestatione," Rome, 1752. That the umbrella is an Oriental appendage to the kingly dignity there can be no doubt, as we find on an Assyrian slab Sennacherib in his chariot drawn by two of his attendants and followed by two others, one of whom is supporting over his head a large embroidered umbrella. On another slab there is a king standing with an attendant holding an umbrella over his head, while he is conversing with a priest. Another bas-relief depicts King Sardanapalus in his chariot with an attendant bearing an umbrella over him.

† The Dean of Westminster directs attention to these drawings, which he says exhibit "the jagged outlines of the draperies referred to as English work of the tenth and eleventh centuries" (!). The Dean of Westminster has apparently been misled by Mr. Bond, who states that "the dress is represented by a roughly drawn jagged outline in the style common to *English* drawings of the tenth and eleventh centuries." The Dean surely would not have his readers infer that these fringed garments were not worn by the Greeks and Romans, but were peculiar to the English of the tenth and eleventh centuries? Does he see any resemblance between "the jagged outlines of the draperies," and the vestments given in the Oxford *Cædmon* which Mr. Westwood compares with those in the *Psalter*? The Dean in his remarks on the second fac-simile (plate 56 B) falls into a strange inaccuracy. He describes the drawings on that plate as illustrative of 95th and 96th psalms, whereas they illustrate the 96th and 97th psalms. It is almost inconceivable that he should have committed this blunder, as Psalm xvi. (97 E.V.) refers to the confusion of those that serve graven images, "Confundantur omnes, qui adorant sculptilia," which the artist has depicted by angels hurling torches from Heaven at a group of people worshipping a couple of statues very like Grecian Gods standing on a column. The illustration of the 95th psalm is on plate 56 A. Again, the Dean is wrong in his description of the third fac-simile (plate 62 B). He says it illustrates the cv. Psalm, whereas it portrays the cvi. (107 E.V.) The drawing represents a city, ships at sea, vines, a man ploughing, and other subjects mentioned in that Psalm. It certainly has no connexion with Psalm cv. (106 E.V.)

to those of the *Anglo-Saxon* priest or monk, as portrayed in English MSS. The dress of the women is purely Grecian, as it appears in ancient sculpture; and the frequent occurrence of naked children denotes that the artist was familiar with Eastern habits. Indeed, there is nothing in the costumes displayed in these drawings bearing any resemblance to *Anglo-Saxon* dress. Yet it has been said that the *fasciæ* which encircle the legs of several of the warriors clearly point to the dress of the Anglo-Saxons. Now we know beyond question that both Grecians and Romans used *fasciæ*, and that the Gauls, at least their kings and nobility, also wrapped their legs in them. That the Lombards did the same is proved by the insult offered by Cunimund to Alboin, son of Audoin, King of the Lombards, in allusion to the white bands which enveloped their legs. Proof also exists that the ancient Normans of distinction bound their legs with *fasciæ*. So that the assumption that the use of these bandages was confined to the Anglo-Saxons necessarily falls to the ground. In French, German, and Italian MSS. the *fasciæ* are of common occurrence; and they still ornament the legs of the French, Spanish, Italian, and Swiss peasantry.

39. The round shields or *clypei* which occur in the drawings are completely Grecian. There is scarcely one without a boss or *umbo* projecting from the centre. You see in many of them the protuberant part termed *ἐπομφάλιον*. This was not the shape of the Anglo-Saxon buckler in the eighth or ninth century. Some of the pictures also show the *Ocreæ* or greaves on the warriors legs, and in a few instances traces of the *lorica* can perhaps be distinguished.

so also of the shields and armour.

40. Before I dismiss the subject of the drawings, I would call the reader's attention to some of the subjects to which I have already adverted, and ask if such matters are likely to have engaged the attention of an *Anglo-Saxon* artist.

41. In the first instance, I would refer to the temples and ecclesiastical buildings, with which the drawings abound, and inquire whether there is any appearance of Anglo-Saxonism (if I may use the term) about them. We know, from the descriptions of Beda, that the early churches in England were made of wood and thatched with reeds. Speaking of Finan, he says that "he built a church in the Isle of Lindisfarne, not of stone, but entirely of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds; that his successor, Eadbert, however, took off the thatch, and covered it entirely with lead." Speaking of Columba, who came from Ireland into Britain, he states that "he built at Whithorn a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons;" and whenever a stone church was erected, he mentions it as a memorable event. Now, if the reader will take the trouble to look at the autotype, he will see that there is not a single instance of an ecclesiastical building, being covered either with thatch or lead. They are all roofed with the stone which Pliny has described in his Natural History, § 22, ch. 44. He writes, "In the province of the Belgæ there is a white stone which admits of being cut with the saw that is used for wood, and with facility even. This stone is used as a substitute for roof-tiles and gutter-tiles, and even for the kind of roofing known as the pavonaceous* style, if that is preferred. Such are the stones that admit of being cut into thin slabs;"—something like the ornamental shingles or wooden tiles which were much used by the Romans (see Pliny, Book 16, § 10, c. 15). Then look at the ornaments on the top of the temples, and point out where they in the least resemble Anglo-Saxon finishing ornaments. Then again the cupolas, the round towers, and turrets are certainly not Anglo-Saxon. Next inspect the embattled walls, and it becomes evident that those of Jerusalem are intended;† and what is more natural than that the

No Anglo-Saxon character about the temples and other ecclesiastical buildings shown in the drawings.

* So called from its resemblance to the spots in a peacock's tail.

† The walls of Perga, as given in Texier and Pullan's Byzantine architecture, resemble some of the walls of the cities in the Psalter.

celebrated city, so dear to Jew and Christian, and about the beauties of which the Psalms are replete, should be exhibited? Are the altars,* with their hanging veils, or the tombs, the columns, and aqueducts Anglo-Saxon?

Illustrations of trees.

42. Let me now call attention to the trees which the artist has introduced whenever he had an opportunity. At fol. 73 B (Psalm cxxvii.) and elsewhere he had in his mind's eye the olive tree, the most abundant of any of the trees in Palestine. In Psalm LI, v. 10, (plate 30 A,) the Psalmist exclaims, "I am like a green olive tree in the House of God;" and there again is the olive tree unmistakeably drawn.

Introduction of oriental trees into England.

43. Now we know positively that the olive† tree was not known in England before the beginning of the seventeenth century, and then only as an exotic; for, I am told, it does not thrive in the open air where the thermometer falls below 60 degrees, though it will grow near London on a S.W. wall. Again at folios 2 B, 5 A, 7 A, 23 A, 24 A, 24 B, 28 A, 32 A, 34 B, where the veriest tyro in arborism could not mistake the trees represented there for any other than the cedar; the artist was portraying the thoughts of the Psalmist when he says, "The boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars," and "the righteous shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon." Will those who pretend that the drawings were by an *Anglo-Saxon* artist tell the world when the cedar‡ was introduced into England.

The true oriental palm depicted in the drawings.

44. The numerous palm branches carried by the faithful are seemingly those of the wild palm, which, being neglected by the inhabitants, spreads into impenetrable forests, and at times even chooses for itself a solitary spot near a spring, affording refreshment and shade to the weary traveller. The artist had certainly the remembrance of the Psalmist's words, "the righteous shall flourish as the palm tree." He never could have made such drawings in a country like Britain, where the palm tree was unknown; but he would have sketched the willow, which is used as a substitute for it.

Illustrations of the vine and vineyards of Palestine true to nature.

45. Though the vine was known in England during the Saxon era, it was not common, and only grew in highly sheltered southern aspects; whereas it was so abundant in Palestine (having been brought thither from Egypt) as to constitute one of the riches of the land.§ The vineyards are still, I am told, remarkably fine. Look at the drawings illustrating Psalm 79th, or 80th of the English version, and it will at once be seen that the artist had a perfect knowledge of the vines of Palestine. He exclaims, "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: thou has cast out the heathen, and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like goodly cedars." " . . . "The boar out of the wood doth waste it." Now look at the illustration of this Psalm, (folio 47 A), where the artist has drawn the wild boar destroying the vineyard, and let me ask whether an Anglo-Saxon artist would have imagined a design such as that now under consideration? On the subject of the wild boar destroying the vines, I refer the reader to the Rev. J. Hartley's *Researches in Greece*, p. 234, where he says that "his friend

Destruction of vineyards by wild boars not to be imagined by Anglo-Saxons.

* See Texier and Pullan. When mentioning St. George in Thessalonica, built in the time of Constantine, they cite Ciampini de *Ædificiis a Constantino Magno constructis*, pl. 33. "Morem hanc velis ornandi januas ex Gentibus ad Fideles, nempe ad ecclesias transiisse, colligo ex nonnullarum ecclesiarum propylæis, ubi in columnarum summitatibus cernitur virga per quam nonnulli excurrunt annuli e quibus vela pendeant." The mosaic on the dome of St. George in Thessalonica represents a domed shrine on four pillars, with a veil drawn across, and a lamp hanging inside the Temple, similar to the drawings in the Psalter.

† The olive has been cultivated in England since A.D. 1648.

‡ The cedar, in addition to those mentioned in the text, occurs on folios 2 A, 3 B, 4 A, 4 B, 8 A, 11 B, 13 B, 15 B, 22 A, 26 B, 28 A, 59 A, 60 B, 64 A, 65 A, 86 A, 88 B, and in several other places. The red cedar (*Juniperus Virginiana*), I believe, came from North America before 1664, and the cedar of Lebanon (*Pinus Cedrus*), from the Levant before 1683.

§ The illustration of Psalm 77, v. 6, (fol. 37 A,) English version, "then shall the earth bring forth her increase," is a vineyard.

" Mr. Leeves was travelling in the dusk of the evening to Therapia. Passing a vineyard he saw an animal of large size rush from among the vines and cross the road with great precipitation. His attendant exclaimed, 'Wild boar, wild boar.' 'What has the wild boar to do in the vineyard?' asked Mr. Leeves. 'Oh!' replied the Greek, 'tis the custom of wild boars to frequent the vineyards and devour the grapes.'" Was this known to an Anglo-Saxon artist? Again, at Psalm 127, v. 3, (folio 73 B), the Psalmist says, "Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine." The artist there shows the abundance of the grape yield, carried away in baskets of Grecian form. The willow is shown at folio 77 A, Psalm CXXXVI., with the harps hanging upon its branches; and we all know how common that tree is in Judea.

Harps hung on willows.

46. The other trees sketched in the Psalter cannot be mistaken, and are such as were not known in England. The bay, or more properly speaking the rose bay or oleander, occurs on folios 1 B,* 8 A, 21 A, 22 A, 26 A, 26 B, 27 B, 88 B, and the green bay at fol. 47 A; the olive on folios 25 A, 27 A, 30 A, 31 B, 35 A, 39 B, 40 B, 49 A, 73 B, 74 B; the cassia on folios 27 A, 28 A; the sycamore on folios 3 A, 4 A, 16 B.

Other trees sketched in the Psalter, not known in England.

47. I would remark that the animals which are introduced into the sketches are those which, if not wholly unknown, were very rarely found in Britain, and not likely to have been selected by an *Anglo-Saxon* artist. The lion is found at folios 4 A, 8 B, 32 A, 32 B, 36 A, 42 A, 46 B, 59 B, 75 B, 82 B, 84 B; (compare these lions with that given in the Oxford Cædmon, plate 67, vol. 24, of the *Archæologia*. Mr. Westwood states that the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter accord entirely with Anglo-Saxon drawings, such as are contained in the Oxford Pseudo-Cædmon published by Sir H. Ellis in the *Archæologia*); the jackal, at folio 46 B; the camel, 22 B; the unicorn, 12 A, 16 A, 54 A; wild ass, 59 B; antelope, 59 B; bears, 42 A, 46 B, 75 B, 82 B; wild boar, 47 A, 75 B, 82 B; and several others, though known in England, are certainly of a different breed. The three-headed Cerberus at the mouth of Hell, 84 A; the crocodile, or an animal intended for it, 59 B, are not the thought of an Anglo-Saxon artist.

Animals drawn in the Psalter of eastern habits not likely to be known to an Anglo-Saxon artist.

48. The furniture which the artist has introduced ought not to escape notice, inasmuch as it proves that it was all designed by the same hand, though, as I have already stated, the drawings themselves were executed by different men. In almost every instance the table is round, with three legs, resembling those depicted in the Catacombs of Rome. The legs are generally ornamented with a lion's head and claw. There are, however, two or three oblong tables with four legs without any ornamentation. Around these tables people are seated, according to the custom of the Jews.

The furniture also of eastern origin.

49. I call attention to the agricultural implements depicted in the Psalter, especially the ploughs in plates 21 A, 49 B, 59 B, 62 B, 79 B, and I request the reader to compare them with the fac-similes given in the Oxford Cædmon in plates 79 and 94 of the 24th volume of the *Archæologia*. I do this because Mr. Westwood says the drawings in the two MSS. entirely correspond. Never were ploughs so unlike; never was any conclusion so entirely incorrect.

Agricultural implements shown in the Psalter;

Mr. Westwood's error on this point.

50. At the risk of trying the patience of the reader, I must extend my remarks on the drawings by pointing out how each of them has a direct and definite reference to the Psalm it is intended to illustrate, and which could by no possibility have served for any other purpose. Had the artist possessed ever so large a collection of drawings, by no device or ingenuity could he have selected such as were so minutely applicable to the various subjects

Direct and definite reference of each illustration to its appropriate Psalm.

* Hasselquist, in a letter to Linnæus, writes, p. 169, "I request you will please to ask Dr. Celsius whether the writers on Scripture plants have ever thought what vegetable David refers to in Psalm i. 3, under the name of the tree of the righteous. David attributes qualities to the tree which plainly show that he has in view some particular vegetable; and these qualities are such that they cannot be attributed to any but the oleander, which grows in abundance in this country."

before him, unless they had been previously prepared and designed for the purpose of the Psalter. From what MS. or MSS. was such a collection to be made? To have answered this supposed purpose the artist's collection must necessarily have amounted to many thousands; and what object could he have in accumulating such a mass of drawings for a forgery?

Psalm xviii. and its illustrations.

51. For instance, in the illustration of Psalm xviii. of the Utrecht (plate 10 B), or 19th of our version, the artist has rendered the Psalmist's words "Day unto day uttereth speech, " and night unto night sheweth knowledge," by two Suns (*as Osiris*) and two Moons (*as Isis*) in conversation with each other. "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun" he depicts as the Sun (*Osiris*) standing near a temple; and the words "rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race" (*exsultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam*), by a giant, armed with shield and spear, running rapidly along.

Psalm xxi. and its illustrations.

52. In Psalm xxi., E.V. (plate 11 A), "Thou settest a crown of pure gold upon his head," "posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso," the artist portrays a king being crowned by an angel. "Thy right hand shall find out those that hate thee" he represents by a right hand holding spears, issuing from a cloud, and pointing towards the wicked. Verse 9, "Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven . . . the Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath, and the fire shall devour them," is represented by a group of the wicked being driven into a fiery furnace.

Psalm xxii. how illustrated.

53. Psalm xxii., E.V., (plate 12 A), is very fully illustrated throughout; indeed, there is scarcely a verse in it that has escaped the artist's attention. The bulls of Bashan, the dogs, the lion, the unicorn, the parting of the garments, the feasting of the meek, are all exemplified.

Difficult interpretation of illustrations to Psalm xxvi.

54. The illustration of Psalm xxvi., E.V. (plate 14 B), is somewhat difficult to interpret; but the figure with extended arms standing on a round tower or pedestal is evidently intended for David ("My foot standeth in an even place"); and the aqueduct supported on several arches, with the water flowing from a lion's mouth into a large basin, in which people are washing their hands, has reference to the words "I will wash my hands in innocency." The two flagellations must have allusion to the "bloody men, in whose hands is mischief."

Appropriate illustrations to Psalm xxix.

55. The illustration of Psalm xxix., E.V. (plate 16 A), could have been designed for nothing else. "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters" is represented by three heads blowing on the water. "The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars" is displayed in six heads blowing violently on cedar trees. "He maketh them also to skip like a calf; Lebanon and Sirion like a young unicorn." Here we see a calf skipping under a blasted cedar, and a unicorn under another cedar. We have also a hind calving in a forest. Is it conceivable that such a design as this could have been selected from other drawings?

Curious illustrations to Psalm xxxiv.

56. The afflictions of the righteous are curiously displayed in Psalm xxxiv., E.V. (plate 19 A). A man is being crucified with his head downwards, and another is being broiled on a gridiron. Surely no Anglo-Saxon would have thus rendered the martyrdoms of the righteous.

Appropriateness and Grecian character of illustration to Psalm xlv.

57. No one can look at the illustration of Psalm xlv., E.V. (plate 26 A), without at once seeing what the artist had in his mind. A Queen, richly arrayed, is standing on the right of the King, and the King's daughter, followed by her virgins and companions, is brought to him. The dress of the women in this drawing must strike every observer; it is so perfectly Grecian, without the slightest resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon costume.

Nathan and David, Psalm li.

58. The touching story of Nathan and David is fully displayed in the li. Psalm, E.V., (plate 30 A), and sufficiently proves that it was not selected from a collection of older drawings. It represents the prophet reproving the King; Bath-sheba retiring from him; Uriah lying dead on a rock; sheep, goats, and oxen are near him. A man is reproaching another for tearing a lamb out of the lap of a man seated under a tree.

59. The LVIII. Psalm, (plate 32 B), is thus quaintly represented: A man is spearing a lion in the mouth,—“break out the great teeth of the young lions.” “The waters which run continually” are depicted as a river god holding a vase from which water is flowing. The serpent and the deaf adder have not been forgotten; and the wax* which melteth is shown by a very large tripod holding a colossal wax candle. This too, probably, has reference to the words, “I am the light of the world”† (John viii. 12).

Illustrations to Psalm lviii.

60. The artist has very literally rendered the words in Psalm LX., E.V., (plate 34 A), “Over Edom will I cast out my shoe,” by placing a pair of shoes in the left hand of the Almighty, who is here represented with naked feet. Surely this drawing would not have suited any other subject.

To Psalm lx.

61. The rendering of Psalm LXIII., E.V., (plate 36 A), is very peculiar. The artist has represented the twelve signs of the Zodiac, perhaps as a paragram on “Turbabuntur gentes, et timebunt qui inhabitant terminos a signis tuis;” or he may refer to the words “Thou crownest the year with thy goodness;” for he gives the vine full luxuriance, and sheep, oxen, and goats.

To Psalm lxiii.

CHAPTER V.

62. These illustrations are so fanciful and interesting that I would willingly continue my remarks upon them, for in reality there is not a single drawing which is not worthy of comment; but my reader's sufferance must not be tried beyond endurance. I proceed therefore to examine some of Canon Swainson's observations on the illuminations prefixed to the Canticles, Creeds, and other pieces which come after the Psalms. Canon Swainson follows Mr. Bond in supposing that all the miscellaneous pieces were additions to the Psalter made in the ninth century. In mentioning the “Gloria in Excelsis” and the “Apostles' Creed,” he remarks that “this Hymn and Creed, *as a rule*, are not found in early psalters; on this account, the artist here seems to have been compelled to *invent*, whereas elsewhere he had been content to *copy*.” As a rule, it may be so; but all Canon Swainson's assertion amounts to is this, that these Hymns and Creeds are not found in early psalters, *so far as he is aware of*. How early he does not say. But in thus expressing his opinion of these drawings it is obvious that he cannot have examined them with much attention, or he would have perceived that there is no such distinction between one set of illustrations and the other, as he insists upon; either they are all *copied* from an early MS., or all *invented*. The same thought, the same treatment, the same style, pervade the whole of them, and that one mind designed them, though one artist may not have executed them all, for various degrees of excellence are perceptible in their execution, there can be no reasonable doubt. This is apparent from the details, from the buildings, the costumes, the instruments of domestic use or warfare, and the like. The unity of conception throughout is unmistakeable, whatever opinion may be formed of the imaginative power, the fancy, or the prosaic honesty displayed in it. There is not the least indication of such a distinction as that which Canon Swainson imagines; nor has he given the faintest reasons why we should adopt it. In the illustration of the “Lord's Prayer,” which Canon Swainson seems to think the artist was *compelled to invent*, I see no other invention at work than that which prevails throughout. The Saviour surrounded by his twelve Apostles, in the attitude of prayer to a Father in Heaven, and a Hand stretched forth from a cloud to help them, was both easy and natural.

Examination of Canon Swainson's objections.

His error in supposing that the illustrations of the Canticles, &c. are of different character from those of the Psalms.

* The English version, following the Hebrew, has “a snail.”

† The Dean of Westminster, in his “Sinai and Palestine,” p. 428, referring to the words of St. John, writes, “‘I am the light of the world’ has with great probability been referred to the lighting up the colossal candlestick in the same festival (the Feast of the Tabernacles).”

Canon Swainson's objections as to the age of the drawings not tenable.

63. Again, Canon Swainson takes an exception to the age of the drawings, on the ground that the Deity is personified; and he asserts that no such instance of the representation of God Himself has been hitherto known to exist "so early as the ninth century." I am compelled to differ from him. In the Vatican collection at Rome there is an ancient diptych, attributed to the fifth century, representing the Deity reclining on a cloud with His Infant Son at His Right Hand. But even if this diptych in question did not exist, I could not defer to Canon Swainson's mere assertions resting solely on the most uncertain of all foundations,—mere negative evidence,—especially in matters of great antiquity, where positive proofs are necessarily few.

Fallacy of Canon Swainson's objections to the representation of the Crucifixion.

64. Another of his objections is equally fallacious. He objects to the representation of the Crucifixion as delineated in the Utrecht Psalter, apparently unaware of the fact that similar representations are found in the Catacombs at Rome. It is true that in the first centuries Christians were content to depict the emblems of their faith by the simple cross, sometimes tinted red, and occasionally to ornament it with flowers or a dove, the symbols of peace and love. After that came the Good Shepherd and the Immaculate Lamb at the foot of the Cross. Then the rude figure of the Lord clothed on the Cross, but not nailed to it, as appears in the Utrecht Psalter. Later still we have a delineation of the sufferer fastened to the Cross with four nails, one through each hand and each foot.

Proofs of the representation of the Crucifixion in the first four centuries.

65. The fact of the Crucifixion being of uncommon occurrence in old pictures and mosaics during the first four centuries has, I am aware, been used as an argument against the antiquity of this Psalter; but the reason for the scarcity of its use arose from the disinclination of the early Church to expose One Person of the Godhead to the jeers and scandal of the pagans and unbelievers, and prevent the taunt that they worshipped the naked body of Christ suffering an ignominious death on a cross between two malefactors. Yet that such representations did exist among the early Christians seems clear from the allusion of Tertullian, as quoted by Gretser, and confirmed by the words of Justin Martyr and Minutius Felix, "*Trophæa non modo simplicis crucis, sed et hominis in ea pendentis imaginem esse.*" But there can be no dispute about the words of Lactantius, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century. Mentioning the Crucifixion, he writes—

Lactantius.

" Quisquis ades, medique subis ad limina templi
Siste gradum, insontemque tuo pro crimine passum
Respice me, me conde animo, me in pectore serva.
Ille ego, qui casus hominum miseratus acerbos
Huc veni
.
Cerne manus clavis fixas tractosque lacertos,
Atque ingens lateris vulnus, cerne inde fluorem
Sanguineum, fossosque pedes, artusque cruentos."

Gretser on passage from Lactantius.

66. Upon these lines of Lactantius, Gretser, in his great and exhaustive work "*De Sancta Cruce*," writes, "*ubi vides crucifixi imagines non modo omnium oculis fuisse expositas, sed et in templis positas. Subdit Lactantius ex eadem persona Christi*"

"*Flecte genu, lignumque crucis venerabile adora Flebilis.*"

The Crucifix a subject of derision in the second and third centuries.

67. That the Crucifix was the subject of derision in the second and third centuries, and must therefore have been well known, is, I think, clear from the blasphemous caricature discovered in the palace of the Cæsars at Rome. It is a rude representation of a figure, having the head of an ass, on the cross, and a man standing close to it in an attitude of adoration; under him is an inscription in Greek signifying "*Alexamenus worships God.*" Now, unless the Christians at that time did actually worship before the Crucifix, there would have been no point in the caricature; for, as the writer of the article in the 42nd volume,

p. 178, of the Dublin Review justly remarks, "A caricature is an exaggeration of the reality; it necessarily supposes some reality which underlies and gives point to the grotesque idea which it embodies." And Father Garrucci, the discoverer of the caricature, regards it not as a fancy sketch, but as a derisive representation of an actual scene; that of Alexamenus engaged in the act of worshipping before the cross, with his god suspended thereon. This was the reality which the artist has depicted, and it certainly shows that the Christians of that period actually rendered honour to the representation of the Crucifixion; and had it not then been the common practice among Christians so to worship, the artist would not have selected an exceptional case to ridicule.*

68. Speaking on the subject of the Crucifixion, and giving instances of it in the Roman Catacombs, Bottari says, "I would not dare to affirm that Christ was represented crucified before the time of Constantine;" but Bosio affirms that such was the practice used after the Emperor's conversion.

Bottari and Bosio on the representation of the Crucifixion.

69. Paul Aringhi ("Roma Subterranea novissima") says that the sculpture of Christ crucified was found by Bosio in a "cœmeterium" which he discovered in the Flaminian Way, and said to have been built by Pope Julius I., who reigned between A.D. 337 and 352, and that St. Valentinus was buried there. He gives a drawing of the sculpture at p. 354. Christ has His arms straight along the beams, with the nails through the palms. The head inclines to the right shoulder, and is surrounded by a nimbus. The feet rest on a block fixed to the cross. The nails through the feet are not apparent in the drawing, though the description says "Clavis quatuor transfixi." More might be added on the subject from Trombelli, "De Cultu Sanctorum Dis sertationes decem." There can, therefore, I think, be no doubt that the Crucifixion, as displayed in the Utrecht Psalter, was already fully recognized in the sixth century as the fitting representation of that awful event.

Paul Aringhi on the sculpture of Christ crucified found by Bosio.

70. I would further direct attention to a circumstance which points to the great antiquity of the drawings. I allude to the position of the hands of supplicants in the attitude of prayer or thanksgiving. They are always either upraised or extended forward, and are never joined or clasped together, as they are commonly represented in later ages.

Further proof of antiquity of drawings in the Utrecht Psalter.

CHAPTER VI.

71. Another point on which the Reports differ materially regards the ornamented letter B at the commencement of the First Psalm, which, as I shall show, was certainly added after the whole Rustic text had been written. It was the usual practice to insert all ornamental capitals after the rest of the MS. had been finished, sometimes many years after. For these rubrical letters were, in more instances than one, not completed for the whole of a MS. some centuries after the text had been composed. The evidence of this practice is so numerous, and the reason for it so obvious, that I need not insist on it further at present. I may only add that any argument as to the antiquity of a MS. derived from this source is *extra rem*.

(1.) Consideration of the writing and materials of the Psalter.

The initial letter B. Difference of the Reports respecting it. Ornamental capitals inserted after completion of MS.

72. Mr. Bond writes, "Still stronger and more decisive of a later age is the illuminated initial letter at the beginning of the First Psalm. This has been erroneously stated to be of Irish execution, and of early date. The form of the pattern used in the ornament is

Mr. Bond's assumption, that the initial B is "Anglo-Frankish," untenable.

* On this subject I may also refer to a very interesting paper by Mr. Hogg, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Literature, entitled "On a profane Stylograph of the Crucifixion at Rome," and read 6th June 1866, before that society. Mr. Hogg differs slightly from Father Garrucci on an unimportant interpretation of the signification of the figure, but he has no doubt on the other points brought forward by him, and he adduces Mr. Westwood's opinion in confirmation of Father Garrucci's view. Mr. Westwood says, "I examined it (the Stylograph of the Crucifixion) with much care with my magnifying glass, and I saw nothing to raise a doubt in my mind about it; nor do I now, after more carefully studying the matter."

“ certainly derived from ancient Irish work; but the whole design of the letter and
 “ colouring, including the outer edging in red to the gold ground, is unmistakeably of a
 “ different—probably the *Anglo-Frankish*—school. A close resemblance to it will be found
 “ in the ornamental initial letter of the First Psalm in the Cotton Psalter, Galba, A. xviii.,
 “ which is a foreign MS. of the ninth century.” This is an assumption of Mr. Bond’s, as
 I will show presently, no more tenable than his novel invention of an “Anglo-Frankish
 “ School;”—a distinction unknown to all palæographers but himself. But if this letter be
 of the Anglo-Frankish or foreign school, what becomes of Mr. Westwood’s positive assertion
 that it is an Anglo-Saxon B?

Mr. Thompson’s
 opinion similar
 to Mr. Bond’s, but
 too general to be
 of weight.

73. Mr. Thompson writes, “The initial letter B of the First Psalm belongs to the class
 “ which is found in Carlovingian MSS. of the ninth century, gilt edged with red, though
 “ rather simple in form.” He afterwards adds, “Judging from the style of the initial letter,
 “ taken in combination with other details, Mr. Thompson is of opinion that the MS. was
 “ probably written in the north-east of France.” Let me here remark, before passing to
 Mr. Westwood’s argument, that Mr. Thompson’s opinion is too general to be of any weight.
 He says that the letter is *simpler in form* than the Carlovingian MSS., but what those MSS.
 are he has not thought proper to name. This remark on the gilding and red edging merely
 shows that either he has decanted his notions into Mr. Bond’s mind, or Mr. Bond into his,
 in the progress of this case. At any rate, both are of opinion that the letter is not the work
 of an *Anglo-Saxon* nor yet of an Hibernian artist.

Mr. Westwood’s
 opinion of 1859
 endorsed in his
 later report;

74. Mr. Westwood indorses the opinion he gave in 1859, that “the Psalms are written
 “ throughout in triple columns on each page, in Rustic capitals;” and that “a date not more
 “ recent than the sixth or seventh century ought to be assigned to the MS.; *but* the initial
 “ letter of the First Psalm is a large golden uncial B, ornamented in the genuine interlaced
 “ Saxon style.” Mr. Westwood continues, “I, moreover, noticed that the drawings had
 “ been inserted after the text had been written, as in several instances they ran close to
 “ or even upon the text below.” He adds, “Supposing the drawings to be later additions
 “ by an Anglo-Saxon artist copying from an early classical series of drawings, we should
 “ have no difficulty in referring the text to the fifth or sixth century. The initial of the
 “ First Psalm, however, precludes us from assigning it to so early a date, and would bring
 “ it to the *seventh or eighth* at earliest, in which case the drawings may have been added
 “ in the ninth or tenth century.” Mr. Westwood expressed a similar opinion in his work on
 the “Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts.” Mr. Westwood in
 another place says that “the space for the large initial B was certainly left by the scribe
 “ of the MS.,—a proof that a later date than the sixth century must be assigned to the MS.
 “ The early MSS. have no large initials.”

as to drawings
 being inserted
 after completion
 of texts, but after
 a comparatively
 short period;

the space left for
 the B shows that
 the MS. must be
 of later date than
 sixth century.

Examination of
 this statement.

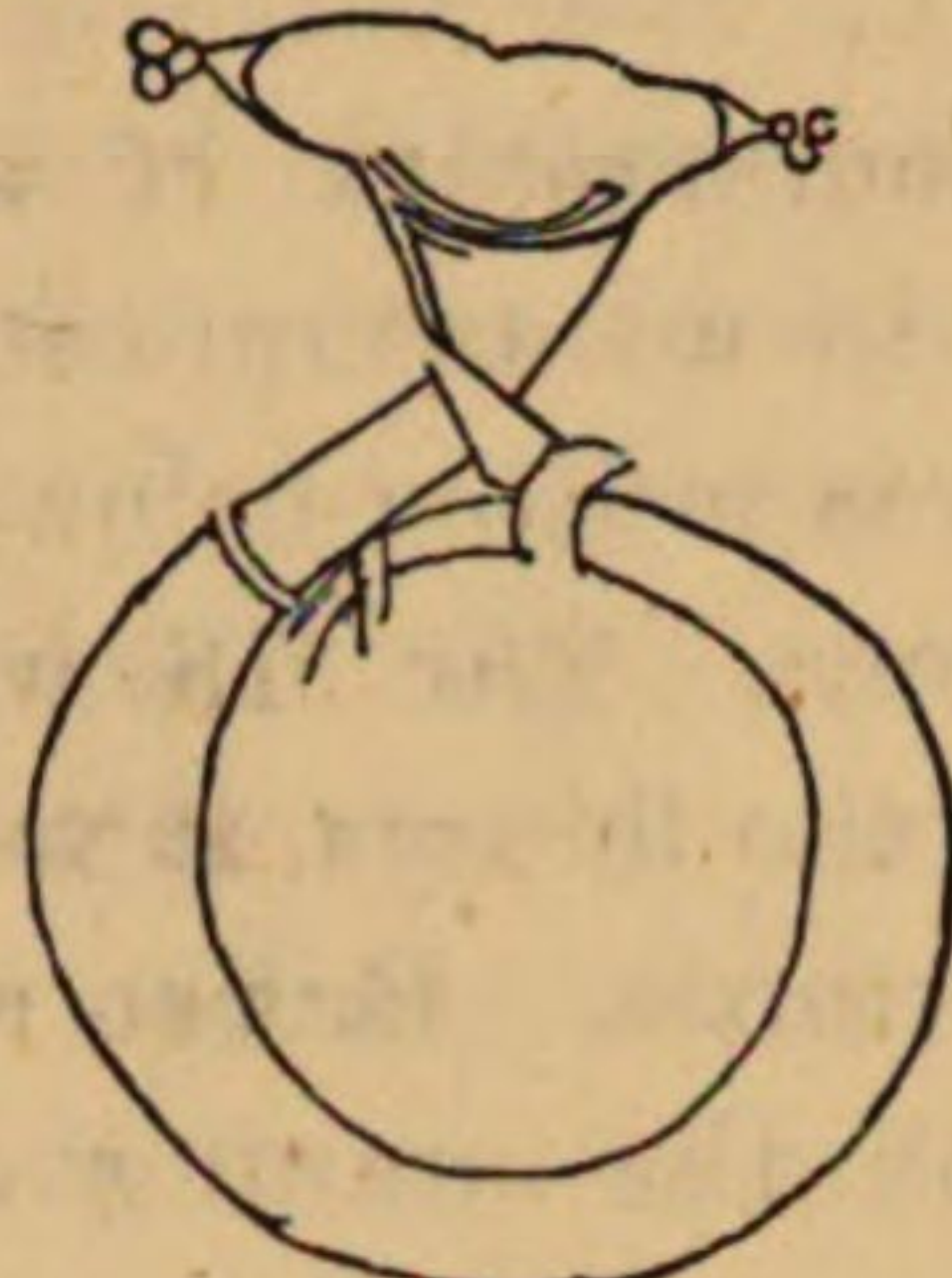
75. This is a very bold assertion by Mr. Westwood. Does he mean that it was not the
 practice in the sixth century to leave spaces for ornamental letters? If this be his meaning,
 what has he to say to the Book of Kells, a MS. of the sixth century, which abounds with
 florid ornamental letters?

76. I shall presently reply to Mr. Westwood’s other remarks; at present I confine
 myself to this letter B. All I would now observe upon his statement is that the letter B
 is not in the genuine interlaced Saxon style, although this supposition is the one thing
 that induces him to assign the text to the seventh, eighth, or even ninth century; for had
 that letter B not been there, he would have admitted that the writing was of the sixth or
 seventh century; and supposing the drawings to have been added in the ninth or tenth
 century, he would have found no difficulty in referring the MS. to the fifth or sixth century.

Mr. Bond and
 Mr. Westwood of
 different opinions.

77. Now, as Mr. Bond deliberately states that the Psalter and the letter B are Anglo-
 Frankish work (!), he cuts the ground of Anglo-Saxonism from under Mr. Westwood’s feet,

who is thus driven back certainly to the sixth or seventh century, and even to the fifth. I had suggested, upon the authority of an eminent and accurate Irish palæographer, that the letter in question was of an Irish form of the sixth century, or earlier. This statement was ridiculed by Mr. Westwood; but to show that the Irish scholar had ground for his opinion, I give two woodcuts of the letter as it occurs in a MS. of the sixth century.



One is what Mr. Westwood would call "the genuine interlaced Saxon style," the other is in the simpler form of the Utrecht letter.

CHAPTER VII.

78. As Mr. Bond and his assistant Mr. Thompson belong to the same establishment, and as their Reports to the Trustees are evidently cast in the same mould, I shall for convenience' sake answer them together. (2.) Of the vellum.

79. Mr. Bond reports, not as an opinion, but as a fact, that "the Psalter has been a separate book, and the condition of its last page shows that it has been at some time unprotected by covers." When did Mr. Bond ever meet with such a costly MS. as the Utrecht Psalter unprotected by covers? Mr. Thompson does not join him in this fanciful opinion, nor have we any proof of it beyond Mr. Bond's assertion; but I would ask him to look at the impressions of the letter B on plate 1 B, plate 2 B, and plate 3 B, and tell me how they got there, if not by pressure of some sort, perhaps after the volume was bound. Mr. Bond next states that "the vellum is leathery, and wants the fine surface of a very ancient manuscript." Mr. Thompson echoes the same sentiment; he says, "the vellum, though not thick, is not of a fine texture. It is of a rather soft leather-like consistency, which bends easily under its own weight; and it has none of the smooth crispness which one looks for in very ancient manuscripts."

Mr. Bond on the state of the volume; the Psalter at one time a separate book.

Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson on the quality of the vellum;

80. Will Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson mention where they have seen *very ancient manuscripts* answering to their ideal notions of what the vellum of a MS. of the sixth century ought to be? My opinion as to the fineness and surface of the Utrecht Psalter differs essentially from theirs, and several persons are of my opinion. Nor do I really know what they mean by "leather-like consistency, which bends easily under its own weight, and has none of the smooth crispness which one looks for in very ancient manuscripts." Surely both of those gentlemen ought to know, that the vellum prepared in France, Italy, and Greece was quite different from the vellum manufactured in England in early times. their notions of that quality ideal.

81. But if this vellum be too leathery for the sixth century, will these gentlemen say that leathery vellum was characteristic of the ninth century, to which they refer the Psalter? The vellum of that period was as far as possible removed in surface, substance, and opaqueness from the vellum of the Utrecht MS. If this argument then were valid against the sixth, it would be equally valid against the eighth or the ninth century, to which they refer the Psalter.

82. I proceed to Mr. Bond's criticisms on the handwriting of the Psalter. On this subject I should have thought palæographers would have been unanimous, but it seems I am

Mr. Bond's criticisms on the handwriting of the Psalter.

deceived. Mr. Bond writes, "The use of Roman Rustic capitals, and the arrangement of the text in three columns, in themselves might be taken to indicate a time prior to the seventh century." (I will discuss his exceptions presently.)—"Instances, however, can be produced of the use of Rustic capitals, even for the greater part of a manuscript, so late as the ninth or tenth century. In the Harley Collection, No. 647, is a copy of Cicero's metrical version of the Treatise of Aratus on Astronomy, with the Commentary of Hyginus. The Commentary is written in Rustic capitals within figures of the Constellations, drawn in an antique style, and occupying the greater part of the page; while the text of Aratus is written below, in minuscules of the beginning of the tenth century. The reason is obvious. The MS. was copied from a much older one; and, in order to keep up the likeness of the figures, it was found convenient to preserve the forms of the letters in writing within them. But so misleading is the appearance of the Rustic characters, combined too with the running together of words, as in the Psalter, and the antique drawing of the figures, that Ottley, the Art Historian, actually wrote a long, elaborate, and expensively illustrated dissertation in the *Archæologia*, to prove that the Harleian Manuscript was of the second or third century."

The one instance quoted by Mr. Bond does not bear out his assertion.

83. Now this is the only instance Mr. Bond quotes for his unqualified assertion that "instances can be produced of the use of Rustic capitals even for the *greater part of MSS.* so late as the ninth and tenth centuries." That instance, I submit, is of such a peculiar nature as does not bear out his assertion; nay, he himself suggests that there were special reasons for using Rustic letters in this instance (namely the necessity of the illuminator), which has no analogy in the case of the Psalter. What Mr. Bond had to prove was that *generally*, as in this case, throughout the whole text of a MS., such as that of the Utrecht Psalter, Rustic letters were in use in the ninth and tenth centuries. What he does prove is no more than that Rustic letters were partially used; and in this treatise of Aratus, for a special occasion, not in the text, but for the illuminations. The argument is the same as if Mr. Bond should contend that the printing of books in capital letters was a common practice, because the heads of chapters, or it might be the descriptions of the illustrations, were printed in capitals.

84. But Mr. Bond, in this instance, seems to trust to the ignorance of his readers. No one is better aware than himself that his assertions respecting this MS. have long ago been disputed; and his "instances which can be produced of the use of the Rustic capitals for the greater part of MSS. so late as the ninth or tenth century," is not only reduced to one, but that one is uncertain. Surely he must be hard pressed to prove his case when he can produce no better instance than this.

Mr. Ottley's dissertation on the Harleian MS. 647;

85. Many who have studied Mr. Ottley's elaborate and learned dissertation, and seen the Harleian MS. in question, come to a different conclusion. The reader ought to be informed that the question of the age of the writing in the Harleian MS. 647 was a bone of contention between the Museum authorities and Mr. Ottley, when he wrote his erudite dissertation, which, I believe, convinced most persons possessing a knowledge of MSS., except the officials of the British Museum, who have stiffly adhered to an opposite opinion.

his conclusions endorsed by Mr. Petrie.

86. This, at all events, is certain, that the late Henry Petrie, whose profound knowledge of ancient MSS., not only in England but on the continent, was not surpassed in this or any other age, endorsed Mr. Ottley's conclusions respecting the Aratus in the British Museum, and that at Leyden.

Mr. Bond's assumption that the drawings are copies from earlier originals is without evidence of proof.

87. Mr. Bond continues, that "in the case of the Psalter, there is evidence in the illustrative drawings that it was copied from an earlier original." That is purely an assumption, resting on no evidence whatever. If the *Psalter* was copied from an earlier original, has he or any one seen it? What was the age of the original? If earlier than the ninth, was it

of the seventh? Was it of the eighth century? He has already said that Rustic capitals in three columns may be taken to indicate a time prior to the seventh century, *i.e.*, during the sixth century. Then, of course, the original must be of the fifth or sixth century; and what help does this afford to those who contend for a far later date to the Athanasian Creed? Anyhow Mr. Bond's conclusions can be no consolation to those whom he desires most to comfort.

88. Mr. Bond continues, "the drawings in the first MS. extended across the page, as was common in early times, and the text was written in three columns; and therefore, for the same purpose of preserving *the original arrangement*, the form of the letters as well as the three columns was repeated." Does not Mr. Bond perceive that this entirely annihilates the argument of those who assert that the Athanasian Creed is a forgery of the ninth century; for it rests on the assumption that the Utrecht Psalter has been copied from a MS. earlier than the seventh century. Now as the "Quicunque" is written in the same formed letters, with the same tri-columnar arrangement, and is illustrated by a drawing by the same artist as the Psalter itself, it must have been found in Mr. Bond's supposed original before the seventh century. I do not ask Mr. Bond why a copy of a Psalter written earlier than the seventh century should have been made in the ninth century, in a hand very rarely if ever used, except for titles and colophons; but I do point out to him the fact that when the Harleian MS. 603 was written, and the drawings in the Utrecht MS. copied, the scribe of the eleventh century did *not attempt to imitate* the shape of the letters in the Utrecht Psalter, though he preserved the tri-columnar arrangement of the text, and in many instances even the punctuation.*

Mr. Bond's argument militates against the assertion that the Athanasian Creed is a forgery of the ninth century.

89. To avoid this obvious conclusion, and maintain an hypothesis resting on so slight a foundation Mr. Bond continues, "That the Rustic capitals are not genuine characters of the sixth century is evident from their weak form and irregular setting. The first aspect of the writing conveys this impression most forcibly; and that the impression is correct is proved by the numerous indications of late work revealed in almost every item of the description of the manuscript." Has Mr. Bond so soon forgotten that he is speaking of Rustic Roman, and not of Uncials? Does he not know that these very characteristics, of which he complains as indicating an absence of genuineness, are the special characteristics of the Rustic as distinct from the Uncial?—That it has received the name of Rustic out of regard to these ruder and more irregular forms? It may be, as Mr. Bond says, that "the first aspect" of the writing conveys this impression. But conclusions of this kind are not to be carelessly drawn from "first aspects." I would here ask Mr. Bond, whether the "first aspect" of the title and *incipit* of each Psalm, as well as the initial letters of every verse, *all written in Uncials*, conveyed the impression to his mind of their being "weak and irregular in setting?"—for surely the *Uncial* is precisely in the same predicament as the Rustic writing, and the forgery of the one must involve the forgery of the other. I have studied the MS. and the autotypes throughout with great care, and deny the accuracy of Mr. Bond's assertion, which he is satisfied to leave in this vague and unsatisfactory shape. How far it rests on any secure foundation my readers may judge for themselves by inspecting the autotypes. But I would ask Mr. Bond to show me the MSS. which indicate, by a less weak form and irregular setting of their Rustic capitals, that those of the Utrecht Psalter are not the genuine characters of the sixth century. MSS. of that date and writing are not

Mr. Bond's opinion of "Rustic capitals;"

characteristics complained of by him as showing an absence of genuineness, are especially peculiar to that style of writing.

* It is a fact worthy of remark that the punctuation in Harl. 603, in many respects, differs from that in the Utrecht Psalter, inasmuch as the stop at the end of the verse in Harl. 603 is placed at the end of the line, and not close to the last word, leaving a large space between the word and the stop, thus proving beyond a possibility of doubt that it is a musical point.

very plentiful, and I shall be glad to be informed of their existence. Will Mr. Bond, who has doubtless carefully examined the Utrecht MS. say that the writing at folios 20 B, 22 B, 24 B, 36 B, is weak in form and irregular in setting, not for stereotyped Uncials, but for Rustic Roman,—in which character he admits the MS. has been written, and which he equally regards as indications of great antiquity.

Mr. Thompson
on the handwriting
of the Psalter.

90. Now let us see what Mr. Thompson has to say about the writing. He remarks, "The body of the text of the Psalter is written in Rustic capitals." "—The words are written continuously, without spaces of separation between them, except at the pause in the middle of each verse. Manuscripts having their text written in Rustic capitals, and without separation of words, are generally to be accepted as of great antiquity, and not later than the sixth or seventh century. But this character was sometimes used for the text in comparatively late MS. is proved by the existence of the Aratus of the Harleian collection,—a MS. which is certainly not earlier than the ninth or tenth century, and in which the Commentary is written within the outlines of the Constellations in the Rustic capitals." Mr. Thompson is as hard pushed as his superior officer, Mr. Bond, to make out his unconditional assertion, viz., that Rustic capitals were used for the text of comparatively late MSS. These two generals have only one poor soldier between them,—the MS. of Aratus, which does duty for both, and that very lamely and imperfectly. Surely with all the means for research at their disposal, with such confidence in their assertion that Rustic characters were used for a host of late MSS., they might have found some better proof than this. If not, their own instance turns against them.

Feebleness
attributed by
Mr. Bond and
Mr. Thompson
to the handwriting
of little weight.

91. It is admitted by Mr. Thompson that the writing of the Utrecht Psalter may be of the sixth or seventh century; but, echoing the sentiments of Mr. Bond, he continues, "the impression which the writing of the Utrecht Psalter conveys to the eye is that, though the style is old, the forms of the letters are not true." (Does he expect they should resemble the mechanical accuracy of printers' type?) "There is a weakness and uncertainty about the strokes, which force one to feel that the scribe is writing in a character to which he is not habitually accustomed." (Does, then, every man who writes in a weak hand copy?) "The impression increases the more the MS. is examined, until it amounts to a conviction that the writing is an imitation. An examination of the letters in detail will show, in the Rustic letters, certain deviations from original forms"—(what original forms, and where are they?)—"which would not be found in genuine writing." This really is such poor argument for one who professes palæography, that it hardly deserves serious refutation. Does Mr. Bond or does Mr. Thompson suppose that in a grave and difficult question of this kind unsupported assertions and vague impressions, adopted upon a foregone conclusion, can have any weight with thoughtful readers? What is that settled type of Rustic Roman from which they say that of the Utrecht Psalter declines?—if, in fact, there is any! Where is it to be found? Let them produce it. If they cannot, if they have never seen it, let them cease to amuse the world by making positive assertions on things of which they have no positive proof.

Mr. Thompson's
assumption of the
use of "ruling"
shown to be
erroneous.

92. Mr. Thompson further says, "The writing is between double lines, not on single ones,—the ruling being close set. This circumstance is significant, supposing the scribe to be writing in an unaccustomed style, in which his hand would require guidance; for the writing is not of that exact regularity which is found in ancient MS." (What ancient MS.?)

93. Having set up a theory that the scribe was imitating writing with which he was not familiar, Mr. Thompson follows it with another, that, for the purpose of guiding his hand, the scribe resorted to double lines. Mr. Thompson mistakes single for double lines. And if this is a proof of copying I am afraid many MSS. now held by the Museum authorities as originals

must fall before such an ideal, so common is the practice Mr. Thompson regards as unusual. The scribe writes *between* the lines, as was commonly done, skipping a space between each. Let the reader refer to folios 35 A, 52 B, 61 A, and several other instances, in confirmation of this statement.

94. I have asked Mr. Bond, and I now ask Mr. Thompson, whether he considers the uncial writing which occurs at the commencement of each Psalm and piece, as well as in the initial letter of each verse, to be in an imitated hand, as well as the Rustic; and what object was to be answered by this double simulation? When they give me an answer, I shall be prepared to continue my refutation of their hypothesis.

95. I turn to what is considered by Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson as presumptive evidence of comparative modernness of the Utrecht Psalter. Mr. Bond asserts that "the manuscript is fully punctuated throughout by simple points (not in the form of a comma), and by the virgule and point in the form of a modern semicolon, and the same reversed," and that "the use of what may be called the semicolon proper and inverted is hardly ever seen in manuscripts before the end of the seventh century," (if they are hardly ever seen, it proves that they do exist before the end of the seventh century), "and is not common till the end of the eighth or ninth." He continues, "In the Psalter the two forms are freely used throughout, and have every appearance of having been inserted, as was the common practice, by the reviser of the MS." Does Mr. Bond not know that in very many instances years elapsed between the writing of a MS. and its correction, and that some were never revised, especially Psalters and the Holy Scriptures? Where then is his argument?

The punctuation considered by Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson as presumptive evidence of the modernness of the Psalter.

Such consideration unsound.

96. Had Mr. Bond stated that the manuscript was originally punctuated by the simple point, and the virgule afterwards added to the point, turning it into a semicolon or an inverted semicolon, I should have agreed with him, and I will presently show why; but I cannot admit what Mr. Thompson declares, that the punctuation is contemporaneous with the writing, the colour of the ink being the same. I need not, however, extend these remarks further.

The punctuation not contemporaneous with the writing.

97. Mr. Thompson, less cautious than his superior officer, asserts "These marks" (the inverted semicolon and the semicolon) "appear to be contemporaneous with the writing; the colour of the ink being the same. In ancient MSS. there are usually either no stops, or simply the full point." Now the impression conveyed by the language of these gentlemen is, that the stop and semicolon are used throughout the MS. in the same manner as this punctuation is used throughout MSS. of a much later date, to mark the pauses in the sense. The punctuation to which they allude is confined to the first and the second half of the versicles. It is found nowhere else, and is simply the musical notation employed in chanting. It is constant and regular through the whole Psalter, including the Canticles and Creeds. That fact alone is decisive to my mind that they were not inserted, when the MS. was written, for the purpose of directing the sense, but long subsequently, for the purpose of denoting the rise and fall of the voice.

neither is it used to mark the sense;

but to assist in chanting.

98. Mr. Bond adds, "In the preceding remarks I have concerned myself solely with the question of the probable age of the Manuscript, because on that rests its importance in reference to the so-called Athanasian Creed, the occurrence of which at the end of the Psalter has been the occasion of bringing it into so much notice. In respect to the Creed it might be argued that, granting that the Psalter is a manuscript of the ninth century, it has every indication of having been copied from one of far higher antiquity, and that this would also have contained the Canticles, Creeds, and apocryphal Psalm. I am of opinion however that, if it were so, the apocryphal Psalm would not have been found where it is in the Utrecht Psalter,—at the end of the manuscript, after the Canticles and Creeds,—but rather after the last Psalm. It seems to me probable that all

Mr. Bond's argument as to the position in the volume of the apocryphal Psalm;

“ the additions to the actual Psalter ought to be assigned to the period of its transcription.
 “ We have an instance of the apocryphal Psalm being subsequently added to a manuscript
 “ Psalter of about the date A.D. 700, in the Cotton MS. Vespasian A. 1, where it occurs
 “ on an inserted leaf, showing that it had not been included in the older manuscript
 “ from which this Psalter had been copied. On the other hand, its position after the
 “ Canticles and Creeds is an indication of the manuscript being not later than the end of
 “ the ninth century, from which time it is commonly found in its proper place immediately
 “ after the Psalms themselves. In a Psalter of the ninth century, in the Museum (Royal
 “ Collection, 2 B. v.), of English use, it is placed as in the Utrecht manuscript.”

not original, nor
 well founded.

99. The suggestion contained in this paragraph is not new to me or my readers. It is the theory advanced by Mr. Ffoulkes in his letter to the Times newspaper on the 17th February 1873. As I perused that letter I thought I had never read an argument more illogical, but I never imagined it would appear again under the patronage of Mr. Bond. If the report had not borne his signature I should have been loth to believe that it ever could have emanated from the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. This is his contention,—because he finds in a Psalter written at the end of the seventh century (*about* the year 700) that the apocryphal Psalm had been subsequently added in an inserted leaf after the 150th, therefore the Psalm in question in the Utrecht Psalter ought to have been so placed, and not where it is now found. Did no other reason for placing it at the very end of the Psalter occur to Mr. Bond? Does he not know that as a rule the apocryphal Psalm is not often found in Psalters, and that the compiler of the Utrecht MS. placed it after he had completed the regular Service Book (for this Psalm is written on the back of the “Quicunque”), so that his work might be complete. How does Mr. Bond make out that “because it occurs after the Canticles and “Creeds” it is an indication of the manuscript being not *later* than the end of the ninth century, because from that time “it is commonly found in its proper place immediately after the Psalms themselves?” How, therefore, this instance shows that the age of the Utrecht MS. must be dated at the end of the ninth century I am at a loss to understand. If Mr. Bond had shown that in all MSS. of the sixth century the Psalm in question was uniformly found at the end of the Psalter there might have been some force in his argument; but his inference is that because it is found in a particular place in a Psalter of the ninth century in the British Museum it must have been always so placed three centuries before. This however is not the strangest effort of Mr. Bond’s logic. He had said that the whole Utrecht Psalter, with writing and drawings, was certainly copied from an *earlier* Psalter; but now it seems to him more probable that all the additions to the actual Psalter, viz., the Canticles, Creeds, and apocryphal Psalm, ought to be assigned, not to this earlier date, but to the period of the transcription, which he assumes to be the ninth century. According to this view the Psalms *only* were copied from an earlier Psalter written in Rustic capitals and fully illustrated (not the Canticles, Creeds, and apocryphal Psalm). Then why in the name of truth and honesty were the Canticles, Creeds, and apocryphal Psalm added in a simulated hand, and illustrated like the other part of the Psalter? Why in a hand so precisely like the rest of the work in all the minutest particulars, even the punctuation, and a peculiar large-shaped Y, that it is impossible to detect the least variation of one from the other?

Mr. Bond’s ar-
 gument untenable.

The handwriting
 of the Psalter
 not simulated.

100. Is Mr. Bond prepared to maintain that all the miscellaneous pieces were written in an obsolete hand solely for the purpose of foisting in a confession of faith which had just then been forged, and the Apostles Creed, containing an article which the Church of Rome had only lately admitted? To effect these purposes it would have been enough if these pieces had been written in the ordinary hand, not in a hand that none but the expert could read, and in one copy only, laboriously illustrated at a great expense, and in a Psalter not

commonly used or recognized. In addition to this, three persons at least must have been employed in manufacturing this forgery, the scribe, the rubricator, and the artist, whose designs are similar to those in the Psalter, and each must have been cognizant of the fraud. Let my readers fully understand what it is Mr. Bond would have them believe. It is that if a man three centuries after Shakespeare's death should wish to palm a short poem on the world as the production of the great dramatist, he should not be satisfied with simulating the hand of Shakespeare, but should think it necessary to copy out a small folio volume of the poet's works in an ancient hand, obtain the services of one or two artists to assist him in his forgery, and then tack on the spurious poem at the end of the volume, hoping thereby to impose on the credulity of others. Such a gratuitous assumption of complicated dishonesty in the ninth century, at all events, is not very probable, and could scarcely occur in these days. For a ninth century scribe to imitate, for any length of time, a fifth or sixth century MS. without betraying himself would be next to impossible, unless, indeed, he had a full copy before him of which he was making a fac-simile. If this were so, the copy must have contained the Psalms, Canticles, and Creeds; but a mere copyist or forger would inevitably betray himself by occasional slips which could be easily detected. The artist too and the rubricator must likewise have been trained and practised, and all this for no ostensible purpose; or rather, as I have said, for the sole object of imposing a forgery on the world for which there was no reason whatever. Does Mr. Bond suppose that the introduction of the Athanasian Creed into the English Service was attended with so much discussion and difficulty that it could not be accomplished without resorting to such means as this? Does he find in any chronicle or historian of the time the faintest hint of such a dispute? Did the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic trouble himself about the antiquity of this Creed, or require to be wheedled into accepting it by such frauds as Mr. Bond gratuitously imagines? Under these circumstances I think it must be admitted that Mr. Bond's supposition is of no weight in the matter.

101. Mr. Bond continues, "The marks of contraction are of three forms; first a horizontal slightly curved line, fine and raised a little at the extremity; second, a line turned in opposite directions at the ends and slanting upwards obliquely to the right; third, a modification of the same, in which the ends are both turned inwards." After such a minute examination of this unimportant abbreviation, requiring a microscope to discover them, I would ask Mr. Bond if it does not occur to him that these little variations of form were nothing more than the differences between the original scribe's abbreviations and those of the corrector and examiner of the MS. I would further enquire whether he really thinks that the original scribe would have introduced three different modes of contracting the same word? Of course Mr. Bond has a right to hold one opinion, and he cannot complain if I differ from him.

Marks of contraction or abbreviations.

102. I do not understand to what Mr. Bond alludes respecting accents over particular words; does he mean to say that such accents are a proof of the non-antiquity of a manuscript? If such be his opinion I could produce not one, but very many instances to the contrary.

Accents.

103. Mr. Thompson affirms "Contractions *are used throughout* the MS., and these are not limited to the abbreviations of sacred names and titles, which occur in the most ancient MSS., but comprise many forms which are only found in those of the eighth and subsequent centuries." This is a very bold assertion. "One mark of contraction of peculiar form claims special notice, viz., the sign used for the termination *ur*, which is never found in earlier centuries. The ordinary mark of abbreviation (a waved or curved stroke) has the same uncertainty and want of uniformity and decision which is to be observed in the writing."

Mr. Thompson on signs used for contraction.

104. Mr. Bond had spoken of the mark signifying *ur* a little before in his dissertation on

curves upwards or downwards, or both combined. I shall return to this subject presently. To the remark of Mr. Thompson that "the abbreviations comprise many forms which are " only found in the eighth and subsequent centuries," I object; with the exception of the mark representing *ur*, he will find these abbreviations which he thinks of so late a date in the Codex Amiatinus, in the Virgils of the Vatican and Medicæan Libraries, in the Prudentius, &c., precisely as in the Utrecht Psalter.

Mr. Bond's dictum as to the breaks in the text.

105. Mr. Bond's dictum that there are necessary breaks in the text to mark the alternations and terminations of the verses I dispute; for I have examined the text carefully with the Gallican, Roman, Vetus, and Vulgate versions. Several of the verses run on without any break, and there are breaks which do not mark the alternation or termination of the verses. I will give Mr. Bond the instances to which I allude if he desires it; but I am unwilling to waste paper and print upon such a trivial point.

Contractions common to the Utrecht Psalter and other ancient documents.

106. Mr. Bond next treats of the abbreviations, which he says are of constant occurrence, and I fully admit that the words signifying the Deity are constantly used as they are in other early MSS. Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson have undoubtedly examined the Codex Amiatinus, edited by Tischendorf, and written about 540, where the abbreviations of *Ds*, *dñs*, *ihs*, *xps*, *sps*, *scs*, with their cases, are the same as in the Utrecht Psalter, where Israel appears as *Israhel*, and *quoniam* as *qm̃*, and other words are likewise contracted as in the Utrecht MS. The same contractions are found in ancient Roman monuments and inscriptions, in the Catacombs at Rome, *as well as* in the Vatican and Medicæan Virgils, and in Prudentius; but the abbreviation signifying *ur*, on which he and his colleague pin their faith, and which has been trumpeted about far and wide, I shall consider in more detail.

The abbreviation used for *ur* occurs but seldom, *not frequently*, in the Psalter, and was added after the MS. was written.

107. Let me at once dismiss the ubiquitousness of this abbreviation which so haunts the imaginations of Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson. I have taken the trouble to count how often words ending in *ur* occur in the Psalter, and I find that they amount to *four hundred and twenty-five*. Out of that number *twelve* occur at the end of a line, evidently left so by the scribe, either through mistake or carelessness, or forgetting to continue the word on to the next line; for, as I have shown, long words in this Psalter frequently run into two lines, sometimes into two columns, sometimes from page to page, there being no divisions in the words. Besides these twelve instances, four occur in the middle of the line, and the instance brought forward by the Dean of Westminster is one of them. The object of this cannot be disguised. And I state without the slightest doubt or reservation that these abbreviations of *ur* were added long after the MS. was written, as the colour of the ink plainly shows, perhaps at the time when the musical punctuation was added.

Mr. Bond's error in supposing abbreviations to be proof of later date.

108. These few instances of the use of the contracted *ur* out of 425 where it is written at length, Mr. Bond describes as of "frequent use," and conclusive against the age of the Psalter. My readers will now understand with what limitations that assertion is to be accepted, and how far he is correct in asserting that the abbreviations found in the Utrecht Psalter are numerous, and found only in MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Messrs. Bond and Thompson's opinion that the Psalter is a copy of an older original at variance with their assertion that the abbreviation for *ur* affords a proof of its more modern age.

109. I must allude to another inconsistency in the statements of Messrs. Bond and Thompson. They have expressed very strong opinions that the Psalter is a *copy* of an *older* one written in Rustic capitals in three columns,—and that for the "*purpose of preserving the original arrangement, the forms of the letters as well as the three columns was repeated.*" And this was done in order that the drawings should fit exactly in the same space as they occupied in the older MS. If this had not been done, the whole would have been thrown out of gear; that is, if words had been extended, which were abbreviated, or vice versâ, they would either occupy too much or too little space to square exactly with the room left for the drawings; consequently where words are abbreviated in the copy they must also have been similarly abbreviated in the exemplar, or they would not [possibly quadrate with

each other. Therefore a copy made in the eighth or ninth century, according to their theory, must have resembled *line for line, word for word, and letter for letter the exemplar made in the sixth or seventh century*. (I here say nothing of the absurd hypothesis that the Psalter itself may have been written in the sixth century and the Canticles and Creeds added in a simulated hand of the ninth.) I therefore ask Messrs. Bond and Thompson how they reconcile this their hypothesis with another of their broad assertions, that the frequent use of the contraction for *ur* is *alone conclusive evidence of the late date of the Psalter because it is never found in the earlier centuries?* For surely if the Utrecht MS. is a copy in the ninth century from an earlier MS., that earlier MS. must have had the same abbreviations, otherwise it would not have quadrated with its exemplar so as to fit the drawings. Another inconsistency arising out of Mr. Bond's assertion is apparent. After careful search I do not find the *ur* abbreviation ever once used in the Canticles, Creeds, and Apocryphal Psalm. The very few times it is found is in the Psalms only, which Mr. Bond and his followers suppose may have been written in the sixth or seventh century. How then do they reconcile their statement that the abbreviation belongs to a period after the eighth or ninth century with their supposition that the Psalter itself may be of the sixth or seventh century?

The *ur* abbreviation only found in the Psalms.

110. I have stated above that the abbreviation for *ur* occurring at the end of a line was inserted by the corrector long after the MS. was written, to supply the omission of the scribe. (This is evident, as I have said, from the different colour of the ink.) But the reader must not suppose that it was only words ending in *ur* at the end of a line where an abbreviation has been supplied by the corrector. There are several others, which fully prove that the scribe had commenced a word in one line and had forgotten to finish it in the next line. I will mention a few instances. In Psalm 18, v. 8, the word *convertens* was written *c* at end of the line, *vertens* in the next line, the scribe having omitted *on* in the next line; and the corrector has therefore added an abbreviation over the *c*. I may remark that it is a very common practice of the scribe of the Utrecht MS. to put a single letter at the end of the line and the continuation of the word in the next; such, for instance, as *o perantur*, the *o* being at the end of the line and *perantur* in the next (plate 33 B). I give one instance out of scores. Again, in Psalm 53, v. 5, *proposuer* occurs at the end of a line, *unt* being omitted in the next line. The corrector has therefore put an abbreviation over the final *r*. In several instances *aut* occurs at the end of a line and *em* at the commencement of the next line; but in some cases the *em* was forgotten by the scribe, and the corrector has therefore added an abbreviation over *t*, as on plates 11 B and 19 B. On plate 19 B, *ñ* occurs for *non*, the abbreviation having been added by the corrector. That this is so is clear from the fact that in two instances at least *n* is in one line and *on* in the next. Again, on plate 47 B, *erim* at end of line for *erimus*, the corrector has placed a (') as the contraction. Psalm 23, v. 4, *anim suam* for *animam suam*, *am* is omitted by the scribe. I could multiply similar cases if it should be required, but I think I have said enough to satisfy the most critical reader.

Several abbreviations besides the *ur* clearly emanating from a later hand.

CHAPTER VIII.

111. So much importance is attached to the punctuation found in the Utrecht Psalter by the opponents to the age of the Athanasian Creed that I feel it necessary to exhaust, if I can, this subject. They assert that no such punctuation occurs in MSS. of the sixth or seventh century; but of this I desire to have proof beyond bare assertion. MSS. of that period in the British Museum, whence this dictum is proclaimed, are not so common as to reduce mere assertion into positive certainty. Supposing, however, for the sake of

Punctuation of the Utrecht Psalter; necessity for exhausting the subject.

argument, that in the very few MSS. of that age deposited in our National Establishment no punctuation occurs; this is no proof that punctuation of some sort was not known at the time. A MS. of the sixth or seventh century containing the Orations of Cicero, or the *Annales* of Tacitus, might be punctuated; not so some other classical author; and the reason for this want of uniformity is evident. The Old or New Testament unpunctuated would be read aloud by the priest without difficulty; while the Psalter, which was always intoned or chanted, would require *the assistance of* punctuation, or some marks directing the singer when to rise or lower the voice. I do not assert this as a fact, but merely as possible. I thought I had said enough on this subject in my Report on the Psalter to satisfy most readers; but it seems I am in error. Tedious as the labour is, I must therefore recapitulate much of what I there said, with some additional remarks, in the hope that if any doubt should remain in the minds of those who differ from me about the age of the Psalter on this score, it may be removed.

Recapitulation
on the subject of
punctuation.

Arsis and Thesis,
evidently of later
addition.

Punctuation for
sense afterwards
altered into punc-
tuation for sound.

Reference by Dr.
Swainson to the
author's statement
respecting the
punctuation in
Beda's Ecclesias-
tical History;

112. The punctuation in the Psalter consists of the full stop (.), the semicolon (;), and the inverted semicolon (¡). I use these terms for want of better. The full stop does not often occur, though I believe it to have been originally the *only* stop used by the writer of the MS., and to have been subsequently converted into the semicolon or the inverted semicolon, as the case required, by the addition of an ascending or descending line. These two signs were introduced to direct the intoner where to lower or raise his voice, and are commonly known as Arsis and Thesis. The first (¡) almost invariably occurs at the end of a sentence in the middle of the verse, and the other (;) at the end of the verse. So invariably is this the case, that it seems next to impossible they could have been inserted coeval with the writing of the text; indeed, its frequent interlineation and insertion indicate as much. In addition to this, the lighter colour of the ink wherever they occur betrays their later addition. The great number of them which have been either interlined, where no room was originally left for them, or clumsily thrust into small spaces, leaves no doubt in my mind of their subsequent insertion. In the note* below, I have given upwards of fifty instances. It is too well known to be disputed that the Psalms, Canticles, and Creeds were always intoned or chanted in the church service. The Psalter was in the first instance written and illustrated for reading and instruction, and not for church service; therefore the full stop was in the first instance sufficient. When it became devoted to choir purposes, then the full stop was converted into this musical notation. Two palæographers who also examined the MS. saw very distinctly the difference between the ink of the text and the ink of the added punctuation. They as well as myself could distinguish the full stop made by the scribe and the additions afterward made to it of the ascending and descending lines (¡;). It is also clear to demonstration that the angle at which the pen was held when the additions to the old punctuation were made was totally different from the angle at which the scribe of the text held his pen; and it is scarcely likely he would have altered the position of his pen to make a semicolon or its inversion if he made them as he wrote. Besides, these additions to the full stop appear to have been made with a finer pen than that employed for the text.

113. Dr. Swainson refers to my statement respecting the punctuation in Beda's Ecclesiastical History, where the inverted semicolon (¡) is used in a MS. of the middle of the eighth century. I am glad he has done this, because it enables me to say a few more

* Punctuation added after the MS. was written:—Psalms i., ii., iii., vi. 7, ix. 12, 13, xi. 3, 8, xvi. 2, 5, xvii. 12, xix. 1, xxxi. 6, xxxiii. 10, xxxviii. 10, xxxix. 6, 8, xlvii. 6, xlviii. 3, xlix. 7, 13, lii. 4, 6, lvi. 8, lvii. 3, lviii. 10, lxi. 9, lxii. 7, lxviii. 10, lxxii. 9, lxxv. 9, lxxxii. 18, lxxxvii. 18, lxxxviii. 3, 24, 32, 48, lxxxix. 6, ci. 8, ciii. 32, cvi. 40, cvii. 6, cxi. 8, cxviii. 96, cxx. 8, cxxv. 2, cxxxi. 13, cxxxii. 1, 2, cxxxviii. 14, cxliv. 4, 12; Canticum Isaïæ (84 A), Canticum Moysi (86 B).

words on that matter. In the "Monumenta Historica Britannica" I gave two fac-similes of Beda's celebrated work, said by some to be in the handwriting of the venerable author, but to that I scarcely subscribe. In the first fac-simile the only punctuation that occurs is the period (.), evidently made by the scribe. It is used 11 times in a folio page of 31 lines, exclusive of its use as an abbreviation for *que*. In the second fac-simile the inverted semicolon is used in addition to the full stop, and has unquestionably been added at a subsequent period. Where the colon (:) part has been placed above the period is quite perceptible; and in several instances it has been thrust between words which almost joined, and in more than one instance where that could not be done it has been positively interlined. These facts convince me if, I had nothing else to rely on, that the punctuation in the Utrecht MS., like that in my second fac-simile of Beda, was made after the MS. itself was written. I will only add that the instances from the MSS. in the British Museum, supplied to Dr. Swainson by his coadjutors, instead of shaking my opinion have materially tended to confirm it, and I thank him for calling my attention to them.

a few more words
on the subject.

114. Before I dismiss the subject of punctuation, I must again call the reader's attention to the few words I have written on that subject in my Report on the Athanasian Creed, p. 23. "Take, for instance, the specimens given by the Benedictines in the thirty-fifth plate of their volume, and which I myself have compared with the MS. (No. 8084) in the National Library at Paris. It is of the sixth century, written in Rustic letters, so wholly resembling those in the Utrecht Psalter that it is difficult to believe that the two MSS. were not written by the same scribe. The words are all joined together, without any breaks or spaces between them. I give the words as they occur, with the punctuation:—

Reference to Re-
port on the Atha-
nasian Creed, on
the subject of
punctuation, p. 23.

" DAPU,ERPLEC,TRUMCHO,RAEIS,UTCA,NAMFI,DELIBUS

" DULCE,CARMEN,ETME,LODUM,GESTA,XPIIN,SIGNIA

" HUNCA,MOENA,NOSTRA,SOLUM,PANGAT,HUNCLAU,DETLIRA

" Compare another specimen given by them in the same plate, taken from the Vatican MS., No. 3867. The writing is in Rustic letters, but larger than those in the Utrecht Psalter and the Paris MS., No. 8084. The words are all joined together, and yet there is a full stop between each, thus:—

" POE.SI.C.ELIDES.MUSAE.PAULO.MAJORA.CANAMUS

" NON.OMNES.ARBUSTA.JUUAN.THUMILESQ.MYRICAE

" SI.CANIBUS.SILVASSILVAE.SINT.CONSOLE.DIGNAE.

" ULTIMA.CUMELVENIT.JAM.CARMINIS.AETAS

" The Benedictines give another example, taken also from the Vatican (Palatin, 1631), of the same Rustic writing without any punctuation, though all the words are run together:—

" TEQUOQUEMAGNAPALESETTEMEMORANDECANEMUS

" PASTORABAMPHYSOSUOSSILVAEMANESQUELYCAEI.

" I have selected these three specimens from MSS. of the sixth century, but I might add many more for the purpose of showing that punctuation is no criterion of the age of a manuscript. Again, in many MSS., such as that of the Virgil in the Vatican, No. 3867, many of the pages are punctuated, and many not. In addition to this, many instances might be produced where the punctuation has been added, and even altered, several years after the manuscript was written,—a fact which can be shown by the different colour of the ink. So then in reality no just conclusion can be drawn as to the age of a MS. from its punctuation. Punctuation does not seem to have been the business of the scribe, but that of the correctors, who apparently exercised their own discretion in

“ placing such points as they pleased, or leaving the MS. entirely unstopped. On this
 “ subject the learned Benedictines write, ‘ Les vuides en blanc supléoient encore aux
 “ ‘ interponctions ; et c’est la plus ancienne manière de ponctuer, ou plutôt de marquer
 “ ‘ sans points la pause, qui laisse au lecteur le tems de respirer, en même-tems qu’elle met
 “ ‘ de la netteté dans le discours. C’est pour indiquer ce repos, qu’on a laissé quelque
 “ ‘ intervalle entre les mots dans le MS. du Roi 256, dont la ponctuation est d’un tems
 “ ‘ postérieur. S’il se trouve quelque espace vuide entre les mots, dans les Homelies
 “ ‘ d’Origène de la même bibliothèque, ce n’est que pour tenir lieu de points et de
 “ ‘ virgules. Dans le MS. Royal 6413, qui contient une partie des œuvres de S. Isidore, les
 “ ‘ mots ne sont distingués, que lorsque le sens est suspendu. Quand la phrase est complète
 “ ‘ et le sens fini, on laisse un intervalle en blanc dans le MS. du Roi 2630, où sont renfermés
 “ ‘ les treize livres de S. Hilaire sur la Trinité.’ ”

115. I have said enough on the subject of punctuation, but not enough, I fear, to convince those who believe “The Declaration of the Catholic Faith,” called the Athanasian Creed, to be a forgery of the ninth century, that the Utrecht Psalter was written before the year 700.

CHAPTER IX.

Objection of Mr. Bond to reasons other than palæographical for determining the date of the Psalter.

116. Mr. Bond states that “ Reasons other than palæographical have been alleged for
 “ placing the Psalter as early as the sixth century, such as that the version of the Psalms
 “ is the Gallican, and that as the Roman version was introduced into England in the
 “ eighth century, the Psalter would be of a date earlier than that. There must be
 “ something very unsound in the argument; for in the Museum collection of Psalters the
 “ greater number of those of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries are of the Gallican
 “ version. These, too, are of English use, having English glosses.”

Answer to his objection.

117. Now I must protest against the way in which Mr. Bond has twisted my words. Mr. Bond’s inference must go to show that these Psalters of the Gallican version in the Museum were written in England, which it is clear they were not, on account of the English glosses being added to them, precisely in the same manner as the Augustine Psalter, as it is called, has the English glosses, added many years afterwards. Mr. Bond surely does not mean to insinuate that because these Psalters are now deposited in the Museum, therefore they were written in England. I certainly might, if I felt inclined, throw back upon him his own words, and say there must be something very unsound in his argument.

The dotted *y* a proof of the early age of the Psalter.

118. Mr. Bond comments on individual letters, and says *y* is always almost dotted. I admit it; what then? Does he mean to insinuate that the *y* in MSS. of the sixth century are never dotted? If this is his meaning—and if not, why does he introduce this statement?—I take exception to it, and assert that in MSS. of the sixth century this letter is often dotted. I ask him further if the letter *y*, which occurs in that very peculiar form, being much larger than the other letters, at Psalm xxxii. 2, xxxv. 7, cl. 3 and 5, and twenty other places, is not very uncommon in MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries, but very common in those of the sixth and earlier centuries? In the Medicæan and Vatican Virgils this peculiar *y* of the Utrecht MS. is constantly found. Mr. Thompson, however, does not follow Mr. Bond in his condemnation of the age of the Utrecht Psalter on this account. Under the paragraph of the letter *y*, Mr. Bond writes there are no special archaic forms. I do not quite understand him, and therefore cannot rebut his stricture. If he means that the orthography is not archaic, then I will enter the lists with him at once, and prove, not from one instance, but from hundreds, that the orthography is that of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries; but it will be a waste of time to continue a discussion until he speaks with a little more precision.

119. Respecting the diphthongs, there is no doubt whatever that they are found as distinct letters, and as a single letter with a cedilla; but I deny without reservation that they occur "most often with a cedilla." Not however that I can see the force of Mr. Bond's objection (if he mean it as one),—because it obtains as a single letter therefore the age of the writing is thereby diminished.

120. Mr. Bond next remarks that *n* and *t* are occasionally combined at the end of a word. I do not say *occasionally* but *frequently*, and innumerable similar instances will be found in the Medicæan and Vatican MSS. of Virgil.

121. It is really very painful to take an exception to all that Mr. Bond advances, but I must whenever I think it necessary. He writes, "It has been endeavoured, moreover, to give a remote history of the Psalter, and to trace its introduction into England to the arrival of Bertha, daughter of Chariberct, King of France, as the wife of Æthelbert, King of Kent. The presumed evidence is found in the fact that an original charter of Lothair, King of Kent, to Bercuald, Abbot of Reculver, of the year 679, was at one time in the volume containing the Psalter. It is argued from this that the book must have belonged to the Monastery of Reculver, that it would have been given to the Monastery by Queen Bertha, and that it was removed to Canterbury either when Bercuald became Archbishop, or in 999, when the Monastery of Reculver was dissolved."

"But there is an error at the bottom of this legend. It was not the custom in early times to bind title deeds of religious houses in books. Far from it; they were folded up and preserved in proper repositories for use, stitched into service books for ornament; and the incessant litigation in which religious houses were involved brought them constantly into law courts. The insertion of the charter in the volume containing the Psalter could not have been before the time of Henry the Eighth's suppression of the monasteries. It no doubt was placed there by Sir Robert Cotton himself, whose taste for enriching favourite volumes by such means carried him to the length of mutilating precious manuscripts. He bound the Gospel fragments with the Psalter because they were of the same form, and were both very ancient manuscripts, and he added the charter as suiting them in size and as a specimen of equally old writing. But it has been overlooked that the charter was placed, not with the Psalter, but at the end of the volume, after the Gospel fragments, as is evident from the table of contents in the fly-leaf at the beginning, so that there never was any proper connexion between the Psalter and the charter. Nor, as far as it appears, is there a trace of the Psalter having been a Canterbury manuscript."

122. Mr. Bond says there is an error at the bottom of this legend. I do not say there is not, but he certainly has not exposed it. I never said it was a custom in early times to *bind* the title deeds of religious houses in books for ornament, but I do say that it was the custom to place royal and other charters in valuable books and chartularies for preservation, for it was not every monastery that possessed means of recording gifts. The smallness of Reculver would almost determine that it did not possess any; what then would be more natural than the Abbot should place such a valuable document as the charter of King Lothair in the highest place of honour with which he was acquainted; and what higher would occur to him than in a valuable Psalter presented to his house by Queen Bertha. If my supposition be absurd, how shall I designate that of Mr. Bond? The Abbey of Reculver had been dissolved centuries before the reign of Henry VIII; what then became of this strip of parchment during all the centuries which passed between those two dates; was it kicked about somewhere or other until the time of the suppression of monasteries? Then why was it placed in that particular Psalter, if there had not been a tradition that it had belonged to Reculver? But this is not all of Mr. Bond's allegation. He thinks

Diphthongs.

Combination of the final *n* and *t*.

Mr. Bond's objection to the presumption of the Psalter being brought to England by Queen Bertha, and of its presentation to Reculver, &c.

Investigation into Mr. Bond's objection, and reply to it.

If Mr. Bond's supposition be correct, what became of the charter between 999 and its possession by Sir R. Cotton.

that this identical charter was placed in the Utrecht MS. by Sir Robert Cotton himself, whose taste for enriching favourite volumes by such means is well known. I may ask where the charter had been kept between the time of the suppression of monasteries and when Sir Robert Cotton placed it in this Psalter. Why did he select this particular Psalter? I would also ask Mr. Bond whether it is probable that Sir Robert Cotton would himself have placed the charter of Lothair in the Psalter, and then have removed it to Augustus II. where it now is. I am inclined to believe that the charter was in the MS. when it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, and that he removed it to Augustus II.

No necessity for the charter to be *bound* in the volume, though there placed.

123. Mr. Bond seems to insinuate that because Lothair's charter occurs at the *end* of the volume therefore it never could have formed part of the volume itself. When I stated that this charter was inserted in the Utrecht Psalter I never intended it to be inferred that it was bound up in the MS., though according to the opinion of the Librarian of the University of Utrecht there is evidence that it was at one time bound in the volume. But enough on a point which does not affect my opinion either one way or the other. If it were not for the fear of extending my answer to a much longer length than is desirable, I could furnish Mr. Bond with other instances where charters and similar instruments have been placed either in Psalters or Bibles for preservation, in preference to such volumes as Mr. Bond suggests might be required to be constantly brought into law courts on account of the incessant litigation in which religious houses were involved. I do not myself exactly comprehend Mr. Bond's argument, but I am willing to attribute this to my stupidity.

Recapitulation of statement as to introduction of the Psalter into England.

124. At page 33 of my Report on the Utrecht Psalter I ventured to suggest how that manuscript was first brought into England. I conjectured that it was written in some monastery where the Gallican ritual obtained, and accompanied Bertha, daughter of Chariberc, King of France, when she came here to be united in marriage to Athelberct, King of Kent, who, though himself a pagan, allowed her to retain the Christian religion, under the guidance of Luithard, who accompanied her, before the arrival of St. Augustine in Britain. I then stated that the Utrecht Psalter was in all probability prepared for some special occasion; and the costliness of such a manuscript in those early times would appear to indicate that it must have been the property of some noble or royal personage, and I added that it is evident that the MS. was not written for an Angle-Saxon personage, or it would have had an interlinear translation into that language; that Bertha, being a French princess, would not require such assistance. The drawing belonging to each Psalm would be sufficient to convey an emblematic translation, and impress the truth more clearly on the mind. I have since neither seen nor heard anything to alter my opinion, not even Mr. Bond's suggestion, but I have received what I consider strong confirmation of my opinion from a gentleman. From him I glean that he suggests that the Psalter was written for Bertha's mother, and who presented it to her daughter on her coming to Britain. He writes me thus: "You trace it to Bertha,—let me give some further links. The " Kentish Queen was brought up by her mother Ingolberga at Tours, after the desertion " of the latter by Charibert, in the strictest seclusion, under the eye of Gregory of Tours, " who has recorded her last moments. But Gregory had another friend and protégé " living at Tours at this period, viz., Venantius Fortunatus, to whom (on independent " grounds) Muratori has assigned the compilation of the Athanasian Creed. The " occasion for this is indicated by Pope Pelagius' letter to Childebert, showing the " increasing progress of Eutychianism in France. And here a fresh link appears. " Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, (who died in 523,) had written letters against the heresies of " Sabellius, Arius, and Eutyches at the instance of King Gunebald, which were so highly " valued that they were read in the Church of Tours as a safeguard against these dangers.

A correspondent's confirmation thereof.

“ ‘Extant apud nos epistolæ admirabiles quæ sicut tunc hæresim oppresserunt, ita nunc
 “ ‘ecclesiam Dei ædificant.’* Might we not suppose that Fortunatus, who was a cele-
 “ brated Christian poet, was led by his patron Gregory to give these letters a hymnal
 “ and antiphonal form for the purpose of chanting?”

CHAPTER X.

125. The Report of Mr. Coxe, the Bodleian Librarian, is more short than satisfactory. If Mr. Coxe's Report unsatisfactory, gives no reasons. a grave question of this kind could be decided off hand, without facts or reasons, it might be settled at once by Mr. Coxe's method. He offers his opinion “with very great diffidence, as
 “ *he has never seen a MS.* save the one in question written throughout in the character and
 “ tri-columnar form by which it is distinguished,” and that is sufficient for him to determine
 that the MS. cannot be of the sixth century. In the month of February 1873, however,
 after pointing out to me what he considered the weak points in my argument to Lord
 Romilly, Mr. Coxe proceeded to say, “The strong point for the age of the Utrecht Psalter
 “ is its being quadrate-form, in three columns, and written throughout after the fashion of
 “ the Rustic.” The trustees may not, as Mr. Coxe thinks, desire him “to go into detail
 “ as to the ground of his opinion,” but considering the perplexity into which his judgment
 leads us, it would be rather important to know these details into which he professes his
 intention not to enter, and to explain why he “can see no reason to conclude that the
 “ MS. was written before the commencement of the ninth century.”

CHAPTER XI.

126. On the Report of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, written at the desire of Mr. Bond, I need offer The Report of Rev. Mr. Lewis contains no data for his impression. no objection, as it contributes nothing to the solution of the difficulties connected with the question in discussion, beyond Mr. Lewis' *impression* “that the Psalter is not earlier than the
 “ ninth century.” He gives no data for this conclusion beyond the vague assertion of
 “ general considerations,” which may or may not be well founded, and “certain points of
 “ similarity between the Utrecht MS. and Psalter 272 in the Library of Corpus Christi
 “ College, Cambridge.” A more practised eye might very easily point out marked differences
 between the two MSS. which have escaped the observation of Mr. Lewis.

CHAPTER XII.

127. I wish Mr. Dickinson in his letter to Mr. Bond had expressed an opinion on the age Mr. Dickinson's letter to Mr. Bond on the arrangement of the drawings in the Psalter. of the Utrecht Psalter, because it might have given me an opportunity for removing his objections. Mr. Dickinson says “I thought it (the Psalter) must have been copied from
 “ an earlier MS., as the pictures, which give the meaning of the following Psalm, are
 “ frequently at the end of a page, which could hardly have been the case with the MS. as
 “ originally designed. I compared it with Harl. 603, which in the earlier part seems to
 “ follow it page by page, and at the end to be copied from a different MS., and throughout
 “ illuminated in colours,—which I conceive is the principal difference of the earlier part,
 “ —and containing a different version of the Psalms.”

128. On Mr. Dickinson's remark, I should have thought this very argument led to an His view not adverse to the Psalter being of the sixth century. opposite conclusion; his view, however, is not in any way adverse to the Utrecht Psalter being as old as the sixth century; it only implies that the one from which it was taken was older. If these drawings had been made from an earlier Psalter I think the scribe would not

* Greg. Turon. Hist.

Probability of the drawings being differently arranged if copied from an earlier

Encroachment of the drawings upon the text.

Sir D. Wyatt's criticisms on the Utrecht Psalter.

His opinion of the age of the writing and drawings.

The initial uncial B.

The volume made up before the insertion of the letter.

Comparison of the Utrecht with the Harleian Psalter ;

the former undoubtedly the earlier.

have arranged his page so as to have two illustrations on a page, the lower one referring to the Psalm on the next page; such, for instance, as the illustration of Psalm XVIII. occurs on fol. 10 B, and the text of the Psalm on fol. 11 A. There are many other similar instances. The scribe commenced the text of the first Psalm on the top of fol. 1, having left no space for the illustration, and which consequently had a page assigned to it. Now if the drawings in the Psalter had been copied from another Psalter, the scribe would, I imagine, have so arranged his text as to place the illustration on the top of the page preceding the Psalm, instead of at the foot of the preceding Psalm.

129. I cannot help also thinking that if Mr. Dickinson had thoroughly examined all the drawings in the Utrecht he would have seen that the scribe in very many instances had not left sufficient room for the illustration, and the artist was consequently obliged to encroach upon the text and positively nearly obliterate several words by his drawing. Would Mr. Dickinson oblige me by looking at plates 78 B, 79 A, 80 A, 80 B, 81 B, 82 A, 82 B, 83 A, and then say that he thinks the drawings were copied from an earlier Psalter such as Mr. Bond imagines.

CHAPTER XIII.

130. With Sir M. Digby Wyatt's criticisms on the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter I have been acquainted for some time, through his very interesting work, "The Art of Illuminating." After reading his Report to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, I see no reason to change the opinion I then entertained of it, especially "as he has examined the Psalter " with some attention and feels justified thereby in adhering to the general views on the " subject which he had occasion to make public in the year 1861." Sir Digby Wyatt continues, "I then stated my impression that the writing, and especially an Uncial B " heightened with gold, which commences the first Psalm, would give it a date certainly not " earlier than the seventh or eighth century, while the pen and ink drawings (or at any rate " some of them) may have been probably executed a century later." Thus it seems that the shape of the letter B made him think that the letter could not have been made earlier than the seventh or eighth century, and therefore that the pen and ink drawings may have been executed a century later. I myself do not see how the second induction follows from the first supposition, for it is quite certain that the letter B was inserted after the text was written, and after the drawings were finished. Indeed, I believe that the gold heightening was the last touch of the illuminator. The form having been given, the colouring followed long afterwards. It has been suggested to me that the volume was bound before the colouring was applied, and there appears to be good ground for the suggestion, inasmuch as the impression of the B is plainly visible on the upper corner of the illustration of Psalm I, (plate 1 B); it is also very perceptible on plate 2 B, and is plainly traceable even on plate 3 A. These facts prove beyond a possibility of doubt that the volume was *made up* before the letter was inserted. Sir Digby Wyatt thus proceeds:—"I then supposed " the execution of the drawings to coincide with the Harleian Psalter, No. 603, more closely " than I find it to do on confronting the two Psalters. The style appears decidedly earlier in " all the drawings of the first part of the volume in the Utrecht than in the Harleian, as " early as may be noticed, especially in the following details:—the knees of the figures, the " draperies, the architecture, the characteristics of furniture, some portions of the costume, " especially those of the feet and legs, and the continuity of outline expressing contours." I would here observe that nobody who has compared the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter with those of Harleian 603, but must admit the correctness of Sir Digby Wyatt's criticism. The drawings in the Utrecht MS. are decidedly of an earlier style than those in the Harleian MS. Now as the drawings of the Harleian are asserted by Mr. Bond to be of the

eleventh century, those of the Utrecht are decidedly earlier, how much earlier I shall presently show; I merely here call attention to this fact, as one of the reporters (Dr. Swainson) says that "*the Harleian pictures must be regarded as exhibiting an earlier type than the Utrecht drawings, and if the former are of the tenth or eleventh century the latter must be brought down much lower.*" Will Dr. Swainson be surprised if I should prefer the opinion of an artist of great celebrity in such a matter even to that of a professor of theology?

Reverse opinion entertained by Dr. Swainson.

131. But I must proceed with Sir Digby Wyatt's criticism. "The majority of the pictures in the Utrecht Psalter give every indication of having been copied from much earlier and probably less profusely illustrated *painted* Psalters, produced under a decidedly classical influence. The pictures in the Harleian, although retaining the same features of composition, exhibit more assertion of independence on the part of the *scribe* or penman, and less decidedly the influence of the painter. One might readily believe that the Harleian may have been executed by an illuminator having only the Utrecht (or a replica of it) under his eye; but I feel as strongly as an artist may do that the *Utrecht* (at any rate as far as the text throughout the Psalter, and the pictures certainly as far as the series executed from the beginning by the original artist's hand are concerned,) was probably done at about the middle of the eighth century, and from a much more ancient model, written with few contractions, and more classically formed capitals, and with freely painted illustrations originated under strong Latin early Christian influence; from such a volume in fact as we may readily suppose one of the two Psalters to have been which St. Augustine may have brought to this country in the year 597."

Sir D. Wyatt's opinion as to the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter being copies;

also the text of the Utrecht.

132. I shall not be so presumptuous as to contest a subject relating to ancient pictorial art with such an accomplished artist as Sir Digby Wyatt, but I must, with every respect towards him, dispute his criticism upon the *writing* and the formation of capitals in the Utrecht MS., because I cannot place their production in the middle of the *eighth* century; and I have the less hesitation in doing this after Sir Digby Wyatt's concluding paragraph. The modesty of his words may favourably be compared with the dogmatic assertions of some palaeographers.

His opinion on pictorial art not contested; that on the writing and formation of capitals in the Utrecht Psalter open to dispute.

133. Before I conclude my remarks on Sir Digby Wyatt's report I recur to two of his decisions:—"(1.) That the majority of the pictures in the Utrecht Psalter give every indication of having been copied from a much earlier and probably less profusely illustrated *painted* Psalter, produced under decidedly classical influence;" (2.) "That the drawings were taken from much more ancient models, with freely painted illustrations originated under strong Latin early Christian influence, from such a volume in fact as we may readily suppose one of the two Psalters to have been which St. Augustine may have brought into this country in the year 597." In doing this I must seemingly, though not in reality, travel out of the line of argument I am now pursuing. I would ask Sir Digby Wyatt whether he, or anyone whom he knows, has ever seen such an illustrated painted Psalter as that he has described, where the drawings have been taken *from a much more ancient model*, or if he ever heard of or can find traces of the *two* Psalters brought into England by St. Augustine, containing drawings resembling those in the Utrecht MS.? I would also ask Sir Digby Wyatt whether he believes it possible that St. Augustine would have brought into England a Psalter which was not recognized by the Roman Pontiff, at whose command he was sent to christianize the English people? If Sir Digby Wyatt has seen any of the freely painted miniatures of the date he mentions, or where the books, sacred and profane, imported into this country from Rome during the seventh and eighth centuries are to be found, he would confer a very great favour on me in telling me where I could see them.

But where are the earlier Psalters and drawings of which those of the Utrecht volume are said to be copies?

A strong presumption against Sir Digby's hypothesis.

134. But there is to my mind a very strong presumption against Sir D. Wyatt's hypothesis that the artist of the Utrecht MS. had such a Psalter before him as Sir Digby Wyatt supposes. At the bottom and in the margin of the pages of the Psalter in more than one instance the outlines can be traced of the drawings which the designer was to insert into the text of the Psalm, as the subject of the Psalm required. If he had another Psalter before him with the same design more perfectly drawn and coloured, what was the use of this reiterated labour? Would it not have been wholly superfluous to draw an imperfect outline of the intended design on the MS. itself when the same design was already before the artist in another and more complete form? Would Sir D. Wyatt himself do this in a similar instance?

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Westwood the first to introduce a knowledge of the Utrecht Psalter into England.

135. I have now to reply to Mr. J. O. Westwood's report; but I wish in the first instance to state that it is to that gentleman the theological and archæological scholars of England are indebted for making them acquainted with the Utrecht Psalter; and I think it due to him to do this, since Canon Swainson states that he "was the fortunate medium in identifying it with the long missing manuscript, which had been seen and commented on by Archbishop Ussher."

His report of his examination of the Psalter at Utrecht. Jour. of Arch. Institute, 1859.

136. As early as 1858 Mr. Westwood spent several days at Utrecht for the purpose of examining the Psalter in question. The result of this visit he published in the Journal of the Archæological Institute for 1859. In his communication to that Society he stated that the "Psalms are written throughout in triple columns on each page, in Rustic capitals," and that "a date not more recent than the sixth or seventh century ought to be assigned to the MS.; but the initial letter of the first Psalm is a large golden uncial B ornamented in the genuine interlaced Saxon style." Mr. Westwood proceeds, "I moreover noticed that the drawings had been inserted after the text had been written. . . . Supposing the drawings to be later additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist, copying from an early classical series of drawings, we should have no difficulty in referring the text to the fifth or sixth century. The initial of the first Psalm, however, precludes us from assigning it to so early a date, and would bring it to the seventh or eighth at the earliest, in which case the drawings may have been added in the ninth or tenth century." From this statement, which, however, is not very clearly expressed, it is obvious that Mr. Westwood thinks that the Rustic capitals and triple columns ought not to be considered later than the sixth or seventh century, but that the initial B, being in the Anglo-Saxon style, brings the MS. as late as the seventh or eighth century. Further he supposes that the drawings are the work of an *Anglo-Saxon* artist, copying from an early classical series of drawings, otherwise he would have no difficulty in referring the text to the fifth or sixth century. It is somewhat difficult to follow Mr. Westwood's argument, but I take it to mean that the writing might be as early as the fifth or sixth century (he had before said of the sixth or seventh), but that the *Anglo-Saxon* letter B brings it down to the seventh or eighth at the earliest.

Examination of Mr. Westwood's argument; first as to the supposed originals of the drawings.

137. Let us see to what Mr. Westwood's argument amounts respecting the drawings. He supposes that they are the work of some *Anglo-Saxon* artist, copying from an early classical series of drawings. Before I proceed further I would ask Mr. Westwood whether he has ever seen any such early classical series of drawings, or where any trace of them can be found. Further Mr. Westwood admits that the Utrecht Psalter "must have been the *original* from which not only the Harleian MS. 603 but also the later Eadwine Psalter was copied;" and he says that "one particularity is to be noticed with respect to these drawings,—spaces were left by the scribe across the whole page, cutting through the triple columns of text, for the

“ insertion of the drawings by the artist, and in several instances the space was not sufficient, the drawings running close to or even upon the line of text below. From this fact it may be inferred *that even the drawings of this Utrecht Psalter were copied from some earlier MS., and that they were not composed expressly to fill up the space, which had been left for them*; still, however, the artist has exercised much care and ingenuity in adapting his design to the text.” Let my reader compare with this Sir Digby Wyatt’s opinion, viz., that these drawings were copies made by the most skilful penman, but altogether ignorant artist, to reproduce as best he could the freely painted miniatures of the books sacred and profane, imported, as we know from Rome during the seventh and eighth centuries.” Mr. Westwood assumes that the drawings *were copied from an earlier Psalter*,* Sir Digby Wyatt that “the drawings were copied from the freely painted miniatures of books imported from Rome during the seventh and eighth centuries.”

Comparison of Mr. Westwood’s opinion with that of Sir D. Wyatt.

138. If Mr. Westwood’s assumption be correct, then, according to his own showing, the Psalter from which they were copied must be as old as the fifth or sixth century; for he says, “Supposing these drawings to be later additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist, copying from an early classic series of drawings, we should have no difficulty in referring the text to the latter part of the fifth or sixth century.” The reader must observe the confusion in Mr. Westwood’s reasoning. He first assumes that the drawings were taken from an earlier Psalter, and next he believes that they were taken from an early classical series. Now had they been copied from an earlier exemplar the text-writer would certainly have left more room for their insertion, and the artist would not have found it necessary to encroach upon the writing.†

Confusion in Mr. Westwood’s reasoning.

139. But, continues Mr. Westwood, “the space for the large initial B was certainly left by the scribe of the MS.,—a proof that a later date than the sixth century must be assigned to the MS.” A most extraordinary conclusion! Because space was left for the insertion of this letter B at a later era, the MS. itself must belong to the later period! As well might Mr. Westwood assert that because a house is ornamented or painted ten years after it has been built it could not have been erected until then. Does not Mr. Westwood know that scribes always left a space for ornamental initial letters, and that such initial letters were frequently not inserted until many years after the text was written, and sometimes never filled in at all? He continues, “The style of the ornamentation and the use of gold in the initial letter B are also proofs of late date. The latter circumstance is decidedly against the Irish origin of the initial, advocated by Sir T. D. Hardy.” This may be Mr. Westwood’s opinion, but Irish scholars differ from him; and without meaning the slightest disrespect to Mr. Westwood, to whom we are indebted for several able works on palæography, I prefer their judgment to his in this respect; nor can I recant the opinion I expressed at p. 21 of my Report to Lord Romilly, that the great B, which so perplexes Mr. Westwood, is not of *Anglo-Saxon* origin.

Strange conclusion of Mr. Westwood as to the age of the MS.

His opinion of the initial B not admissible.

140. Mr. Westwood attacks the opinion given by the able authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* respecting the employment of Rustic letters, and proclaims in his Report that “it is childish to affirm (as they do) that because an entire MS. is so written, it must necessarily be of the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries.” The judgment of those great scholars, who had better opportunity of studying the subject than even Mr. Westwood

Mr. Westwood opposes the opinion of the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* as to employment of Rustic letters; which opinion, however, is well grounded.

* If such a Psalter as Mr. Westwood supposes can be produced it would indeed be valuable, as carrying the “*Quicunque vult*” to an earlier date than the Utrecht MS.; for it must be borne in mind that the illustration at its commencement is the design of the same artist who designed the other drawings, and that each illustration can only fit the Psalm which it adorns.

† If they are copies of early classic drawings, where are the originals? It is curious that each drawing should so completely fit the Psalm it is intended to illustrate.

His contradictory assertions regarding the drawings.

himself, is not to be overset by mere dogmatic assertions. It is therefore out of no disrespect to him that I pass over this unfounded assertion, as well as his other notions about the mixture of the uncial and Rustic writings in MSS. of the fourth or sixth centuries, and his remarks on the punctuation. He has not given so much attention to those subjects as they demand. But I cannot omit the last two paragraphs of his Report, in which he speaks of the drawings,—a subject on which I gladly defer to him. After admitting that the drawings were made after the text had been written in the space reserved for them, he adds, “but I consider them not to be much subsequent to the writing.” Now, as he has deliberately stated that the writing, if it were not for the initial letter B and the drawings, might be put down even as early to the fifth century, am I to understand that the drawings may be regarded as early as the fifth century, or that the text must go with the drawings and be placed in the ninth? “The style of the drawings,” he says, “is very peculiar. I know “none in *continental* MSS. that can be compared with them; *whereas they accord entirely with Anglo-Saxon drawings, such as are contained in the Oxford Pseudo Cædmon, published by Sir H. Ellis in the Archæologia.*” *Credite posteri.* I can scarcely believe my own senses, and when Mr. Westwood made this stupendous assertion, he must certainly have taken leave of his. To compare the artistic drawings in the Utrecht Psalter, of which Sir Digby Wyatt speaks so highly,* with the miserable and utterly inartistic scrawls found in the Oxford MS. at the Bodleian and engraved in the *Archæologia* is simply ludicrous. It would be sheer waste of time to refute it.

CHAPTER XV.

Canon Swainson's Report to Trustees of British Museum.

141. Although I have prepared an answer to Canon Swainson's last book on the Athanasian Creed, which I have delayed publishing in order that I might answer not only what he has there stated but what he may state in his forthcoming work, yet as he has entered himself in the list of palæographers on this occasion, and has requested that his Report “may be printed,” because his “belief is that it (the Utrecht Psalter) could not have “been written long before the middle of the ninth century,” . . . “and may be considerably later,” I must consequently notice the Report he has just offered to the Trustees of the British Museum. Canon Swainson thus expresses himself:—

“I must first remove an impression which seems to prevail in more quarters than one, as to the version of “the Psalms which this book contains. It is the Gallican version, so called merely because it obtained a “general currency in the first instance in countries north of the Alps, and was thus distinguished from an “earlier recension by Jerome, which was retained for a time in the churches of Rome and Italy. By a “very pardonable confusion of terms, it has been supposed that when the *Romanus Ordo* and the *Romanus Cantus* spread north of the Alps, the Roman Psalter must have gone with them. The fact is that the “three things were perfectly independent of each other; and, indeed, we have a complaint in the eleventh “century of the inconvenience caused in Gaul by the attempt to adapt the Roman Chant to the Gallican “Psalter. Thus, instead of the Gallican Psalter having been antiquated in the ninth century, or the “Gallican Psalter having been then long superseded by the Roman Psalter (as has been somewhat hastily “assumed), the state of the fact was that the Roman Psalter was gradually and steadily ousted by the “Gallican. The latter spread from Gaul and Germany to churches in the north of Italy, and was ultimately “accepted by nearly all the churches in communion with the Church of Rome. At all events, at a recent “visit to the British Museum I compared the first five Psalms and others here and there in the Utrecht “MS. with Tischendorf's recent edition of the Vulgate, and the differences which I noted between the two

* With respect to these designs, I quote Sir Digby Wyatt's opinion; and I do this because he has written a Report on the subject in opposition to mine. He thus expresses himself in his *Art of Illuminating*: “that very few “artists of the present day could block in the general forms in so peculiar a style with greater freedom or more “complete conveyance of expression by similarly slight indications,” than those in the Psalter under discussion. Further remarks on Sir Digby Wyatt's Report will be found at p. 12.

"are not worthy of notice. Of course there were differences in spelling; but I believe that the only real discrepancy so far as I went was this: in the last verse of Psalm V. *tuæ* is found in the Vulgate and not in the Utrecht Psalter.* Thus the argument that this Psalter must have been written before the middle of the seventh century, because at that period the Gallican version was superseded, is founded on an entire misapprehension of history."

142. I have read over Canon Swainson's remarks several times, but I have some difficulty in making out what impression he desires to convey. Does he mean it to be inferred that the Utrecht MS. does not contain the Gallican version as I have stated? If so, anyone who will collate the Utrecht with the Gallican version may easily convince himself of the contrary. Or does he mean that the Gallican version was unknown in England in the sixth century, and that its use was confined to the countries North of the Alps. If he wishes to convey that impression I must refer him to St. Augustine's letter to Pope Gregory (referred to by me in my Report to Lord Romilly), wherein it is positively stated that he found the Gallican Psalter, as distinguished from the Roman, in use in Britain.

Difficulty in understanding the Canon's statement.

143. Canon Swainson then mentions what he calls a very pardonable confusion of terms, by it having been supposed that when the *Romanus Ordo* and the *Romanus Cantus* spread north of the Alps the Roman Psalter must have gone with them. I am not aware that I fell into "*the very pardonable confusion of terms*" when I stated that "from the year 678, when Pope Agatho sent John the Arch Chanter of St. Peter's into Britain to teach the Roman mode of singing and reading, that the Roman Ritual began to supersede the Gallican," and I still maintain that. I never asserted that the Roman superseded the Gallican in France. I confined my remark to England. It may be true, as Canon Swainson alleges, though he gives no authority for his statement,—that "we have a complaint in the 11th century of the inconvenience caused in Gaul by the attempt to adapt the Roman Chant to the Gallican Psalter." Such complaint, however, does not seem to have extended into England. I therefore do not see that because "the Roman Psalter in France was gradually and steadily ousted by the Gallican," therefore that the same attempt was made here. What may have been the case with France I have never presumed to determine. What I did state was that in this country the Gallican was superseded by the Roman,—my observations were confined to England. I said, and I still maintain, that the Gallican version obtained in England before the arrival of St. Augustine, for he mentions the fact to Pope Gregory, and asks for his advice, as I have more than once stated. I said too, that in process of time, and by the coming of St. Augustine into this country, the Roman version superseded the Gallican here. How is this statement affected by Canon Swainson's learned remarks on the difficulty experienced in Gaul of adapting the Roman Chant to the Gallican Psalter? If this be a hasty assumption, it is Dr. Swainson's, not mine. One thing, however, is clear from his remarks, that if the Roman *Chant* was applied to the Gallican Psalter in France, why should it not have been applied to the Gallican Psalter in England, and hence the musical punctuation which occurs in the Utrecht.

Misapprehension by Canon Swainson of the author's statement as to the introduction of the Roman Chant into England.

The Canon's statement regarding affairs in Gaul not applicable.

144. Though I have not yet collated the Utrecht MS. with Tischendorf's recent edition of the Vulgate as Dr. Swainson has done, I have collated it with the authorized edition, with the Gallican, the Roman, and the Hebrew versions, and in many instances with the Vetus and the Conciliatum texts, and from the result my readers may easily decide how far Canon Swainson is correct in saying that my argument "is founded on an entire misapprehension of history."

Collation of different versions.

* As a specimen of Canon Swainson's careful collation, I would point out to him that in v. 9 of the same Fifth Psalm the Utrecht MS. has "in conspectu *meo* viam *tuam*," while the Vulgate has "in conspectu *tuo* viam *meam*;" but these are not the only variations in the first five Psalms between the Utrecht MS. and the Vulgate.

Canon Swainson
on the palæogra-
phical question.

His opinion of the
Rustic letters.

145. In the palæographical question, with which Canon Swainson deals in a tone of assertion that more experienced and cautious critics would have avoided, he and I differ widely. I give Dr. Swainson's words: "I need not draw attention to another misconception, viz., that the handwriting of the Utrecht MS. had become obsolete for some centuries before the ninth. This is an entire mistake." Again, at p. 68 (2) of his latest work on the Athanasian Creed, he says, "Neither do I think that we must attach great importance to the difficulty of the handwriting. I believe that the letters are called Rustic because of their unfinished character. I think that if any person will try to imitate them with an ordinary pen, he will find that he very speedily will be able to write them with the greatest ease. At all events there was no difficulty in perpetuating the character." This may be, and Canon Swainson's argument would apply with equal force to any ancient MS. written in Uncials, however unquestionable the date. Nay, probably, if Canon Swainson were to apply "an ordinary pen" without any extraordinary talent he could copy any MS. of the sixth century much more easily than one of the ninth. But it is not the question of easiness that is under discussion; what Canon Swainson has to explain is the possible or probable motive there could be for a transcriber in the ninth century to imitate the hand of the sixth, which was not then in common use. No one, I think, could seriously maintain that all the Psalms and the miscellaneous pieces in the Psalter were written in an obsolete hand merely to foist in a confession of faith which had just been forged. One must be at loss to guess why one copy only, so laboriously illustrated, should have been composed for so dishonest an intention, in an antique handwriting, and in a Psalter not commonly used or recognized in the ninth century in England; for according to the theory of Mr. Westwood and others the Psalter was written in this country; if not, all their arguments against the antiquity fall to the ground. What proof can Canon Swainson produce that when the Athanasian Creed was introduced into early Roman Psalters any attempt was made a simulation? If that was not needed in the age of Charlemagne and Paulinus, the supposed forger of the Creed, why should it be needful here? Was more animosity shown here at the introduction of the Creed from the Imperial dominions than among the subjects of Charlemagne himself?

His opinion on
the Harleian and
Utrecht drawings.

His assertion that
the Harleian
drawings are the
earlier.

146. But I must return to Canon Swainson's Report (p. 12). Having alleged that I had affirmed "that the handwriting of the Utrecht MS. had become obsolete for some centuries before the ninth," he continues, "But a comparison in another respect must be drawn between this MS. and the Harleian 603, which is considered to belong to the tenth or eleventh century, and which contains a large number of illuminations similar in outline to those which occur in the Utrecht Psalter. It has been considered that the Harleian pictures must have been imitated or copied from the Utrecht drawings. On careful examination I discovered some time ago that this could not be; because of the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter to which I have on another occasion begged attention as belonging to the ninth or tenth century or later, not one occurs in this Harleian Psalter; thus, taken as a whole, the Harleian pictures must be regarded as exhibiting an earlier type than the Utrecht drawings; and if the former are of the tenth or eleventh century, the latter must be brought down much lower."

147. Observe the cogency of Canon Swainson's arguments. Because the Harleian MS. (said to have been written in the tenth or eleventh century) does not contain some of the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter, which have been assigned to the ninth or tenth century or later, therefore the Harleian pictures must be regarded as exhibiting an earlier type than the Utrecht drawings; and if the former [the Harleian] are of the tenth or eleventh century, the latter [the Utrecht] must be brought down much lower. I should have thought that most men would have drawn exactly the opposite conclusion; but I may leave Canon

Swainson to settle this knotty point with his associated Reporters. When he shall have convinced any one of them that the Utrecht MS. is a later production than the Harleian Psalter, that is, later than the tenth or eleventh century, it will be time for me to canvass more seriously this extraordinary paradox of his. There may be doubts whether the Utrecht Psalter is as old as the sixth century, there can be no doubt whether or not it is older than the Harleian; and the very arguments which lead Canon Swainson to so absurd a conclusion are sufficient to show their unsoundness.

It cannot be doubted that the Utrecht Psalter is the most ancient.

148. The third paragraph in Canon Swainson's Report is as inconclusive as the second. After a very diligent search and examination of 80 or 90 Psalters (though of what precise age he omits to tell us), he says "that there is not a single Psalter known, of a date anterior to the time of Charlemagne, which contains the Psalms, Canticles, and other contents of the Utrecht Psalter." I do not suppose Canon Swainson intends the world to believe that he has examined 80 or 90 Psalters anterior to the time of Charlemagne; but if that be his meaning, all I can say is he has been very fortunate to find so many, and he may do the world much better service than he has done in this Report if he will publish a list and description of them, and where they are to be found. He has said elsewhere (p. 67 of his late work) that there is no Psalter or collection of hymns before the age of Charlemagne which contains the Athanasian Creed, and in proof of his allegation he mentions several manuscripts which do not contain it. If he mean that the Athanasian Creed is not to be found in any Gallican Psalter before the time of Charlemagne, I cannot subscribe to his assertion. If he further insist, as I understand him, that because no Psalter containing the Athanasian Creed is at present known earlier than the age of Charlemagne besides the Utrecht MS., therefore the Creed could not have been written before that time, then he must by an exact parity of reasoning admit that because no MS. earlier than the fourth century can be found containing the whole of the Holy Scriptures therefore they could not have existed prior to that century. Canon Swainson has stumbled on a mode of reasoning which will delight the opponents of the Evangelical miracles, but sounds oddly in the lips of a Norrisian professor of divinity. The non-existence at present of early copies of the *Quicunque* is no proof that none ever existed. When it was first accepted as a test or basis of the Catholic faith, the bishop of every diocese, at least throughout Western Christendom, must have had a copy of it. What has become of these? Is it, therefore, to be inferred because none of these copies are now to be found that none ever existed? But of ten thousand MSS. which were once in circulation not one in a hundred now survives.

Canon Swainson's examination of 80 or 90 Psalters.

If anterior to time of Charlemagne, where are they to be found?

The Canon's inference that, because no copies are known of the Athanasian Creed before Charlemagne, therefore it did not exist, not tenable.

149. In respect to Canon Swainson's remarks relative to the "Te Deum," "Gloria in excelsis," and the Apostles Creed, I must refer him to what I have said on those subjects in my Report to Lord Romilly, with this further remark. Dr. Heurtley assigns the earliest *known copy* of the Apostles Creed to the year 750, therefore the Utrecht Psalter must have been written after that year. Had Dr. Heurtley, a critic of acknowledged ability and truthfulness, seen the Utrecht Psalter before he pronounced his opinion, he would I think have modified that opinion. At any rate Dr. Heurtley's opinion that the Apostles Creed, as it now stands, was used no earlier than the year 750, does not warrant the presumption that because it occurs in the Utrecht MS., therefore the Psalter must on that account be a forgery of the ninth century. I could add to the list of MSS. where the Apostles Creed is found in an imperfect form, besides those mentioned by Canon Swainson. I would send him a list of them, if I thought it would assist his argument.

Reference to first Report.

Dr. Heurtley on the Apostles' Creed; he had not then seen the Utrecht Psalter.

150. In the meanwhile Canon Swainson admits that the titles of the Psalms, on which he founds an argument, may have been inserted two, three, or even four centuries after the text itself was written. I am not going to dispute his statements, but I can't help thinking that it does essentially weaken his argument; so if they are two or three centuries later than

The Canon's admission as to the insertion of titles to Psalms some centuries after the text was

written weakens
his argument.

the text, and the text is as late as the eleventh century, this would bring them down to the fourteenth. I leave those who have knowledge of these subjects to decide whether this is at all probable, and whether this is any more the character of MS. handwriting of the fourteenth than Rustic Roman is of the ninth century.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr. Ffoulkes'
letter in the
"Times," 17th
February 1874.

151. Although Mr. Ffoulkes does not appear under the banner of the Dean of Westminster as one of the Eight Reporters, yet I must avail myself of this opportunity to reply to his objections in his letter addressed to the "Times" on 17th of February 1874. He states, in reference to a letter of "Anglicanus," "that there is no sort of necessity that the Psalter, and " the pieces which follow the Psalter, should have been transcribed at the same time." " Mr. Ffoulkes then " assumes that these pieces, although in the same handwriting, are not, " in some cases, perhaps not in any case, by the same hand as the Psalter." He further states, that " Those who maintain the whole manuscript to have been copied from an earlier " one cannot, of course, deny that one part of it may have been copied from another part." He then continues, " If I am asked my grounds for making this distinction between the " Psalter and the pieces which follow it, I reply that history necessitates this distinction." Afterwards, he asks, " To what purpose was this whole manuscript written in the hand of the " sixth century ?" He answers, " Simply that it might be uniform, and not have the Psalter " in one character and the pieces following the Psalter in another. Being designed for " choral use, it was indispensable that the handwriting of the Psalter should be maintained " throughout. For, as Mr. Jones pertinently suggested in his letter to the 'Times' of July " last, chanters could not read so well in those days, but that the introduction of a different " character in any of the pieces which they had to sing would have confused them." This seems to me an unanswerable proof that the Athanasian Creed as it appears in the Utrecht MS. cannot be denounced as a forgery, in whatever century it may have been written.

His reason for the
whole volume
being in one
handwriting.

His admission of
the Psalter being
transcribed in the
fifth century; his
assertion that the
pieces following
were written in
the ninth, in a
simulated hand.
To what purpose?
Useless for gaining
admission to a
supposed forgery ;

useless for the
alleged choral
purposes.

152. Before I proceed further with Mr. Ffoulkes' allegations, I will reply to those which I have just produced in his own words. He starts with saying that there is no sort of necessity that the Psalter, and the pieces which follow the Psalter, should have been transcribed at the same time. Nobody, that I am aware of, has made such an assertion, for we know several instances to the contrary. Mr. Ffoulkes is willing to admit that the Psalter was transcribed in the fifth instead of the sixth century, but that the pieces following the Psalms must have been written during or after the ninth century, the period in which, as he asserts, the Athanasian Creed was concocted. But why should the forger have selected a handwriting of the sixth century, if he intended to give a greater antiquity to the composition of this Creed? What was there to be gained in the ninth century by giving to the composition an antiquity of three centuries only? If the forger wished to make it appear that the Athanasian Creed was composed by Athanasius, would he not have put it in a hand of the fourth century? What was to be gained by placing it a century later than the death of the Saint to whom it was so desirable it should be ascribed if he wished to gain credit for the Creed? If, again, the Psalter with its numerous illustrations had been written in the fifth century, and it was thought advisable in the ninth century to add to it the Canticles and other pieces which it now contains, for choral purposes, what useful end was to be obtained in copying these in a hand which had been out of use 400 years? Would not the additions have been made in the current hand, which could have been read without difficulty, as was done in Vespasian, A 1, and other instances? But Mr. Ffoulkes says, No; it was necessary that there should be uniformity in the writing, because it was for choral use; and it was indispensable that the handwriting should be maintained throughout, because chanters could not read so well in

those times, but that the introduction of a different character in any of the pieces which they had to sing would have confused them. Does Mr. Ffoulkes really mean to tell us that the chanters of the ninth century could not read the common hand of their own day; if so, how comes it that all other Service books of the ninth century are in the current hand of the time, and not in the Rustic Roman of the Utrecht Psalter? Or was this choral Psalter in possession of the monastery or cathedral (for it undoubtedly belonged either to Reculver or Canterbury). The whole suggestion is preposterous; and this mode of argument is quite inconsistent with the theory of forgery, for the purpose of giving a greater antiquity to the Creed. Mr. Ffoulkes, in trying to uphold a baseless theory, further maintains that the Psalter having been designed for choral use, it was essential that the Canticles, Creeds, and other things which were chanted, should be added to it; and, as a proof that it was for choral use, he admits that the punctuation of this manuscript is musical, and seems to have special reference to intoning; in other words, that the Psalter was designed for choral use. This being the case, the punctuation of the Psalter itself must be of the fifth or sixth century.

All service books of the ninth century are in the current hand of the time.

Mr. Ffoulkes' admission of the punctuation leads it to the fifth or sixth century.

153. Now, I challenge Mr. Ffoulkes, or any of his learned coadjutors, to show a single instance in those two centuries where such a punctuation occurs; and it was the full knowledge of this fact which induced me to state, unequivocally, that the punctuation was a subsequent addition. And here I cannot refrain from giving the most positive contradiction to Mr. Ffoulkes' assertion, that I had said that the Utrecht Psalter was designed for choral service, though I admit that it may afterwards have been used for such a purpose, and then it was that the punctuation may have been inserted.

No instance known of such punctuation existing in those two centuries.

The Utrecht Psalter not designed for chanting, though afterwards adapted to that purpose.

No punctuation needed to comprehend the sense.

154. In the Creeds, as well as in the Psalms and Canticles, no punctuation was needed for comprehending the sense. Each sentence being complete in itself, a blank space was left at the end, which supplied the place of punctuation. But in chanting it was necessary to assist the priest, by allowing him to break a phrase or sentence to equalize his respiration. The punctuation throughout the whole manuscript has been added on this principle; the Psalms, Canticles, and Creeds being all punctuated alike. If, therefore, Mr. Ffoulkes, and those who follow him, admit that the punctuation is contemporary with the early part of the manuscript, *i.e.*, the Psalms, which he allows may have been written in the fifth century, then it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the Creeds and Canticles must have been written at the same time, as the punctuation throughout is identical. If this be disputed, then they are driven to admit that the punctuation was supplied throughout the manuscript at a period subsequent to the text. This is what I have all along alleged, and all that I have contended for. If I might hazard a suggestion as to the time when the punctuation was added, I should be inclined to place it subsequent to 678, in which year Pope Agatho sent John, the arch-chanter of St. Peter, into Britain, to teach the Roman mode of singing and reading.

It was added to assist the chanter;

probable period when it was so added.

155. I will now allude to another of Mr. Ffoulkes' opinions. First, however, I must premise that he admits my statement to be plausible, that it was next to impossible for a scribe of the ninth century to write a very extensive manuscript in the hand of the sixth without having before him an exemplar to imitate. But he gets over the difficulty by saying that he does not assert that the whole manuscript was written in the ninth century, but only the Creeds, Canticles, and other pieces; and that it was quite possible for a scribe of the ninth and tenth centuries to simulate a hand three hundred years earlier than the hand in use. I do not say that short pieces could not have been written in an earlier hand; but I do say that it is more than improbable that they would have been written for the purpose Mr. Ffoulkes suggests, "*the sake of uniformity*," and that the writing in the Psalter should have been imitated for such an object. But let us suppose for an instant that this imitation of writing took place, "that it might be uniform, and not have the Psalter in one character," and the pieces following the Psalter in another. Being designed for choral use it was

Great improbability that the latter part of the volume was copied in an obsolete hand, merely "for the sake of uniformity."

But supposing so, was it necessary to imitate the drawings, or to search for vellum to harmonize?

“ indispensable that the handwriting of the Psalter should be maintained throughout.” Then I ask Mr. Ffoulkes was it necessary that the drawings also should be imitated? Would such a proceeding help the chanter? Further, was it necessary to search high, low, and everywhere for vellum, on which the miscellaneous pieces were written, to harmonize with the vellum of the sixth century? Would that assist the chanter? But I forbear to weary my reader, or myself, in exposing such frivolous allegations.

Conclusion.

156. I ought not to close my answer to these Reports, which the Dean of Westminster has deemed it worth his while to bring before the public, without offering an apology to the reader for the length to which it has extended. If it has wearied him in reading it, he may readily conceive to what extent it has wearied me in writing it. But so many and so vast are the issues involved in this inquiry, that I could not think of sparing myself any labour or declining any fatigue, however great, where I felt that an important truth was at stake and many questions concerned, reaching probably far beyond the immediate object of this investigation. I am well aware that the subject demands an abler pen than mine to do it justice, for the truth rarely lies upon the surface. Obstacles occasioned by time, ignorance, and prejudice have to be cleared away; and even when that is done, the crystal gem of Truth is not always discoverable to all.

T. DUFFUS HARDY.

Public Record Office,
12th April 1874.

APPENDIX I.

The CONCURRENCE of the HISTORICAL and PALÆOGRAPHICAL ARGUMENTS on the date of the UTRECHT PSALTER, in the matter of the Athanasian Creed. A Letter to Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, by ROBERT C. JENKINS, M.A., Rector of Lyminge, and Hon. Canon of Canterbury, author of "The Life and Times of Cardinal Julian."

MY DEAR SIR DUFFUS HARDY,

WHEN through the kindness of Lord Romilly I was introduced to the knowledge of your treatise on the Utrecht Psalter the difficulties which presented themselves to my mind in regard to the date assigned to the Athanasian Creed seemed to me to be so insurmountable that I could but applaud the ingenuity of your theory without being able to admit its truth.

I pointed out these difficulties to his Lordship, and also indicated, in a short paper, the manner in which the pedigree of the Psalter might be traced still further if these preliminary difficulties could be removed. Since then I have investigated with greater care and in every possible aspect the question of the origin of the Creed itself, and tested the crucial argument which I had applied to your theory, viz., the presence of the *Filioque*, in this case not a mere addition or interpolation, but the structural basis of the entire composition. The result of this inquiry, in which I divested my mind of every earlier prepossession, I propose to lay before you, as briefly as so large a subject will permit, in the following lines:—

I. The fact that the doctrine of the Double Procession involved in the "*Filioque*" was declared by the deputies of the Council of Aquisgranum, in their conference with Pope—Leo III. in 809, to have "suddenly emerged" from obscurity, that they even claim for the clergy of that day the merit of having discovered and "dug up" this pearl of great price which they say "*quasi quædam his temporibus nobis subito emerit occulta*," led me to the conclusion which my friend Archdeacon Sinclair has expressed in his recent charge, "This admission proves beyond dispute that any ancient document in which the *Filioque* occurs cannot be much older than the year 809 when this Council proclaimed it to be a novelty. No guesses as to the style of any ancient writing can stand for a moment against this decisive fact," (p. 23, note). On this ground alone the learned Archbishop of Novogorod, Theophanes Procopowicz, disproves the genuineness of the letter of St. Isidore of Seville to the Duke Claudius,* and the author of the History of the Controversy (prefixed to the treatise of the Archbishop "*de Processione Spiritus Sancti*") dwells with not unnatural triumph on the words of the deputies "*Quia hæc quæstio diu a quærentibus jacebat indiscussa, voluit omnipotens Deus in eandem suscitare corda pastorum, ut negligentiae torpore sublato, exercitationis brachio, cælestem valeant perfodere thesaurum*" (p. 17, Ed. Gothæ, 1772). The same argument which renders it impossible for the Athanasian Creed to have existed in the period of the Eutychian Controversy seemed to forbid the possibility of its existence *à fortiori* during the reign of the *Filioque* controversy. A prophetic anticipation of the settlement of such questions many centuries before they even arose seemed absolutely incredible and even monstrous.

II. But I now proceed to show how in this instance my views became first modified and then entirely changed, and to trace the steps which insensibly led me on towards the belief in your theory regarding the version of the Athanasian Creed in the Utrecht Psalter. And first,—

(a.) The discovery of every portion of this document scattered fragmentarily through various ancient writings from the close of the fifth to the close of the seventh centuries, and including in them the clause on the Double Procession, led me to consider it at least possible that they were derived from some perfect formula which must have existed long before the ninth century. All these fragments seemed to me to indicate the very early existence of an integral work in which they were systematically connected.

(b.) The peculiar form of the so-called Creed proves it to be not properly a creed or symbolical formula, but rather one of those hymns in which by means of antiphonal and antithetical statements certain great

* De Process. Sp. S., page 300.

doctrines were represented to and impressed upon the mind. The use of hymns of this controversial kind had been common from the very rise of Arianism, and is described by Sozomen,* who tells us that it was the practice both of Catholics and Arians to append to their hymns doctrinal statements, which, according to his account of them, must have greatly resembled the antiphonal forms of the Athanasian Creed. This would remove another great difficulty which could not on any other ground be cleared up, viz., the fact that the Athanasian Creed is never referred to as an authority; that above all it was never produced in the Council of Florence by either party in the controversy; for though confessedly a spurious production it could not but have possessed a certain authority as bearing on that long and wearying argument. The sole reason was this, that as a hymn it had rather a devotional than a doctrinal bearing, and could not be recognised as an authority in controversies of faith. I believe that in many ancient sacramentary books it is called accordingly the "Hymn 'Quicumque vult.'"

(c.) I now come to the most serious difficulty, the full development in it of the doctrine involved in the *Filioque*; the fact that the entire document is constructed upon (and not merely exhibits as an interpolation) the theory of the Procession from the Son. Let me proceed to show how this difficulty passed away with the rest.

It must be remembered that the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father had from the first two aspects, that of the *Eternal Procession*, involving the idea of *origin*, and that of a *temporary Procession*, involving only the idea of *mission*. In the second sense (to which all the greatest divines of modern times in the Western Church limit the meaning of ἐκπόρευσις) the Western Fathers had from a comparatively early period asserted the Double Procession. St. Maximus in 645 defends the Double Procession as simply meaning *mission*, and explains on this ground the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, in vindication of the Latin usage. This is the sense to which Arias Montanus, Jansenius, Michaelis, and all the principal modern divines limit it. In this sense therefore it was quite possible that it should be included in very early doctrinal statements, and might as well belong in its fullest development to the close of the sixth century as to the beginning of the ninth; but in the sense of the *Eternal Procession* the case is far different, and the question involved is much more serious. And it is in this latter sense that the deputies of Aquisgranum announce to Pope Leo III. the discovery of their long-hidden treasure. For the controversy had been awakened in the Council by the writings of a monk named John of Jerusalem, who had insisted on the doctrine of the Procession from the Father alone. Such is the story of the chroniclers Eginhard, the Monk of Angoulême, Ado, Aimonius, and others. The learned compiler of the history of the controversy already cited translates this story very reasonably, by showing that the writings of St. John Damascene (who lived not far from Jerusalem at this time) are here indicated, and that his strong teaching on the doctrine of the *Eternal Procession* from the Father alone had led the Latins to this branch of the controversy, so that the deputies might well describe their doctrine as a new discovery, without prejudice to the fullest statement of the Procession from the Son in the sense of *mission*, either in the Athanasian Creed or in any other document.* This, while it indicates the creed in question to be unquestionably a Western composition, at once enables us to carry up its date to a much earlier age than that in which the controversy entered upon so new a phase. My chief difficulty was thus at once removed, and the path towards your theory lay open uninterruptedly before me. I observed further that St. Gregory of Tours, towards whom the course of my argument seemed constantly tending, limits his confession of the Double Procession to the sense of mission. "Credo" (he writes) "Sanctum Spiritum a Patre et Filio processisse non minorem, aut quasi ante non esset." Now in the sense of *origin*, the being of the Holy Ghost was coeval with His Procession; and only in the sense of *mission* could it be said that He existed before the Procession. This seemed almost to carry the argument on the *structural* character of the *Filioque* in the Athanasian Creed to the other side, and to enable us to reckon it among the proofs of its sixth-century rather than among the evidences of its ninth-century date. For it would show the Creed to have been constructed before the controversy began to take its later type and the doctrine of the *Eternal Procession* came upon the scene.

III. Having thus indicated some of the more important reasons which led me on to a conclusion so remote from that which I had first arrived at, I proceed to examine the Athanasian formula in its verbal and doctrinal structure, and to show the reasons which lead me (though by a different course of argument)

* Hist. Eccl., I. III., c. XIX.

† Historia Controv. de Process. Sp. S., Page 16.

to accept the judgment of Muratori and to assign to Venantius Fortunatus, the poet and friend of St. Gregory of Tours, the authorship of the confession.

(I.) The *form* of the work which is rather that of a definition than a creed, at once separates it from all those public and private confessions which were in use in the early Church. A creed as an individual profession of faith was always conceived in the first person and did not proceed by way of abstract definition but of personal faith. Accordingly the three Persons of the Trinity are in every proper creed mentioned in the order of their revelation to man and of their relations to man in the work of salvation. The idea of defining the nature of the Deity was so alien to the thoughts of Athanasius, Nazianzene, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, and the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries generally, that they always reject it with expressions of repugnance and even horror. Evagrius, the contemporary of Nazianzene, dissuades his hearers from "attempting to define the Divine nature inasmuch as it is a simple essence, while definitions can only belong to a composite one. Every proposition," he says, "either enunciates a genus or species, a difference, a property, or an incidence, or some combination of them. But if there is none of these things to be found in the Holy Trinity, let the ineffable mystery be adored in silence."*

"It is impossible," writes St. Athanasius to Serapion, "to speak worthily concerning things ineffable. It is temerity moreover for those who are unable to say anything to devise for such things new forms of speech contrary to the Scriptures. For the Deity is not delivered to us in the demonstrations of words, but by faith and pious meditation with godly fear." While therefore the form of the so-called Athanasian document separates it from the nature of a creed, proceeding as it does by definition instead of by a simple profession of belief, the impossibility of the author of the letter to Serapion writing such a series of "demonstrations" and definitions of "things ineffable" in words not contained in the Scriptures becomes apparent. The first type of the Athanasian formula is to be found rather in the definitions of the Western writers, who (like Vincent of Lerins) incorporated the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon with the earlier conclusions of Nice and Constantinople, than in any of those numerous creeds and confessions in which the public and private faith of Christians was embodied during the great synodical period.

(II.) Our next inquiry must be, in what language was this formula originally drawn up? And to this I unhesitatingly reply, *undoubtedly* in Latin. In the address of Pope Gregory IX. and his synod to the Patriarch Germanus and those with him, written in 1225, he describes it as "written in the Latin phrase" (λατινικοῖς ῥήμασι) during Athanasius' exile in the west. This the great Montfaucon has proved at length, and has confirmed by the proof that no Greek copies of this Creed can be found of an earlier date than the fourteenth century.† Renaudot, on other and independent grounds, arrives at the same conclusion,‡ to whom may be added Anthelmus, Quesnel, Salig, and a host of learned writers. But the strongest ground for this belief is the fact that while the Greek copies present a variety of reading which is nearly infinite, and of which specimens may be seen in Alter's preface to his Edition of the Chronicle of Phranza, (Viennæ, 1796,) the Latin text is almost absolutely invariable, indicating the original, of which the Greek copies are translated versions. But perhaps a yet more convincing argument arises out of the Latin phraseology employed in the Creed, and the manner in which the mystery of the Trinity is defined and illustrated. Everyone who examines it closely and critically must see that it is an original but somewhat clumsy attempt to convey in a language which (as Gregory Nazianzene describes it) "has great straitness and penury" (στενότης καὶ ονομάτων πένιαν) the sharp and delicate distinctions under which the doctrine of the Trinity presented itself to the Oriental mind. "What has accrued from this?" asks the great divine, "a ludicrous and pitiable result" is his reply. In this case, however, the result has been simply the merging of the great distinctions established by the earlier creeds, and the reduction of the creed to a series of extreme statements, which to the ordinary eye appear to involve direct contradictions. In the "three co-Eternals"§ it introduces three first principles, and in the equality of the Son with the Father *in the sense of origin*, does away with the *φῶς ἐκ φωτός* of the Nicene Confession, dividing what St. Basil calls the "Monarchy of the Father," and in the words of Photius, *εἰς διθεΐαν τὴν μοναρχίαν λόγων*, by which, he adds, "the dignity of the supersubstantial and monarchical Trinity is brought into dishonour."|| No candid critic can fail to arrive

* Monachicon, ap. Nicephorum (Hist. Eccl., tom. II.)

† Montfaucon, in tom. II. Athan. Opp., page 718.

‡ Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin., page 98.

§ In Bp. Stillingfleet's Dialogue (the "Trinity and Transubstantiation compared,") the "Papist" asks, "If the three Persons be *co-eternal* how is it possible to conceive that there should not be *three Eternals*?"—to which the "Protestant" replies, "This seems the hardest expression in the whole Creed,"—and justly, for it involves the heresy of Damianus and Paulus, who though denying tritheism yet asserted "three distinct existences or natures equal in every respect."—(Niceph. Hist., l. XVIII., c. 49.)

|| Encyclical Epistle to the Oriental Thrones (Epp., page 51).

at the conclusion that a document which distinctly sets forth three "causes," "fountains," and "first principles," in the Deity would be irreconcilable to the Oriental mind with the "God of God, Light of Light," of the Creed of the Universal Church, as it is expounded by St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzene, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and all the Eastern Divines down to St. John Damascene. The very clause of the Creed which affirms "the Father" to be "God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God" is condemned by Pope Damasus as heretical, from its tritheistic tendency, as dividing the essence of the Deity. The doctrine, therefore, of the Creed, not less than its phraseology, points to its Western origin, and proves that at the time it was produced it would to the Eastern mind have presented the simple features and the dreaded dangers of tritheism, a heresy which was revived in the early part of the seventh century, the very period of the birth of this formula, by Johannes Philoponus in Alexandria, and against which the rude qualifying clauses "and yet not three Gods," &c., would not have saved it, according to the keener apprehension of an Oriental.

But, on another ground, the impossibility of its Eastern origin must be apparent. The inflexible law of the Council of Chalcedon prohibited not only the acceptance of a Creed in any other outward form than that of Constantinople, but even the very composition of such a document. The words *προφέρεισθαι*, *γράφεσθαι*, *εκτίθεσθαι*, and *συντίθεσθαι*, show that it is an actual written document of which they were speaking, a symbolical formula or definition, and not a mere *faith* in the abstract sense, as Archdeacon Sinclair, in his charge, most justly observes (p. 20). Pope Vigilius in the fifth century anathematizes all "qui aliud propter prædictum symbolum" "præsumunt docere aut exponere aut tradere ecclesiis Dei," while Pope Agatho in 680 declares it to be his chief design "ut nihil de eis quæ regulariter definita sunt minuatur, nihil mutetur, vel augeatur sed eadem" "et verbis et sensibus illibata custodiantur." In 809 Pope Leo III. carried on this great tradition by referring the deputies of Aquisgranum to the law of the Council of Ephesus, forbidding the slightest change or interpolation of the Creed, and positively refusing to authorise the insertion of the *Filioque* on these grounds. Before this time therefore the compilation of the Athanasian document as a *Creed or public Confession* would have been impossible either in the East or in Italy. But on the estrangement of the two Churches, which followed almost immediately after, the laws of the earlier Councils fell into such entire abeyance in the West that these inflexible prohibitions gradually died out from the knowledge of the Latin Church. So complete was the ignorance of them which prevailed in the fifteenth century, that when they were read in the fifth session of the Council of Florence many of the more candid and pious of the Latins, especially of the monastic orders, admitted that the Eastern advocates were in the right, and that they had never been taught these laws by their own doctors. This the historian Syropulus himself testifies, who heard it from their own lips.* No reasonable man can contend for a moment that the Athanasian Creed could, in the face of such evidence as this, be any other than a Western document drawn up at a moment when these ancient laws were gradually fading from the mind, and probably with the idea that a mere definition of this kind, not made as a public test, could not fall within the lines of the prohibition. Yet even the Latins in the Council of Florence, when these venerable laws came again to light, were compelled to admit (as the Latin Archbishop of Rhodes did in the eighth session) that "though definitions and creeds differ in" "some things, they agree in many. For much is contained in definitions which belongs to the faith. In" "this case, therefore, definitions and creeds are equivalent. And this is proved by experience. For the" "Fathers when defining added their definitions to the Creed and extended their prohibition to both; proving" "that in many things definitions have the same force as creeds." In the Eastern Church, therefore, the composition of the Athanasian Creed was from first to last an impossibility, except to the Nestorians who rejected the Council of Ephesus; while in the West it could not have been composed in Italy before 809 even as a definition, though it might well appear in the extreme West, either in Spain or France, where the knowledge of the ancient prohibitory laws had long before died out, and where an entire Council like that of Aquisgranum needed to be reminded by the Pope of the very existence of the great prohibition of the Council of Ephesus.

But another consideration presents itself in corroboration of this view, arising out of the comparison of the union of the two natures in Christ with that of the soul and body in man. This from the opening of the sixth to the eleventh or twelfth centuries would have been regarded by the Eastern orthodox Churches as involving the heresy of Apollinaris, whose creed or confession it actually represents. This comparison, insisted on by the Monophysites in their various controversies with the Catholics, is universally repudiated

* Hist. Unionis Florent., Sect. VI., c. 19.

by the latter, and Renandot tells us that the Jacobites of Alexandria regard the Athanasian Creed with the greatest veneration, as embodying one of the very principles of their heresy.* No Eastern Catholic, therefore, writing between these periods could possibly have embodied in his confession a comparison which involved so great a danger. Aquinas himself repudiates it as false and delusive,† and though used by St. Cyril and others by way of a passing illustration, it never was adopted in any actual creed but that of Apollinaris, which is given in full by Canisius.‡

(III.) These considerations involve also the question of the *period* of the formula, which they in some measure anticipate. The fact that the doctrine of the Double Procession (though in the sense of *mission* only) underlies the whole formula, appears to me to fix it between the close of the sixth century, in which that doctrine (as Muratori shows) was being ventilated in the Gallican Church, and the year 809, in which the doctrine entered upon so new a phase in the Council of Aquisgranum. It cannot well be relegated to the latter date if (as it is believed) Hatto, Bishop of Basle, required all his clergy to sing it at Prime as early as 800; still less if the Council of Autun in 670 may be held to make authentic mention of it. But the necessity for its production did not arise so late as this, or at least it had then no such urgency. The Arianism and Eutychianism, against which the profession exhibits its two faces, belonged (as the Epistle of Pope Pelagius to King Childebert plainly shows) to the seventh and not to the ninth century. I cannot but therefore hold to the belief that the period of its composition was some time between the years 580 and 670, and that there is no sufficient reason for carrying it on to the period between the latter date and the year 800.

(IV.) We now come to the question of the *place* where it was compiled. We have gradually drawn together the lines of our argument till they converge in the extreme west of Europe, and the south of France or the north of Spain alone remain as the probable scene of its composition. I am well aware that reasons of great weight have been produced for the city of Trèves, and that Muratori makes this probability one of the very grounds for assigning its composition to Venantius Fortunatus. But if the *person* is thus fixed, why should not rather Tours, as his regular residence for so many years, under the eye of, and in affectionate intercourse with Gregory of Tours, rather than Trèves be the birthplace of the so-called Creed of St. Athanasius? This was the place where most of the writings of Fortunatus were composed, and which, from its lying within the range of Arian influence on the side of Spain, most needed such a doctrinal safeguard. But as this forms the point of contact between my *doctrinal* theory and your own *paleographical* one, I cannot perhaps do better than fall back upon the observations I submitted to Lord Romilly. I said in them: "I venture to offer a few suggestions which seem to me to connect the pedigree of the (Utrecht) MS. " with the pedigree of the Creed itself, and begin at the point where Sir Thomas Hardy breaks off his " ascending line. With masterly skill he has traced the MS. into the possession of Queen Bertha; let us see " whether it can be traced still further. The Kentish Queen with her mother Ingoberga, the deserted " wife of Charibert, was living in religious seclusion at Tours, until her marriage with Æthelberht, where " St. Gregory of Tours, the devoted friend and guide of both, resided. At the same time there was living " at Tours, in the Monastery of St. Martin, Venantius Fortunatus, the Christian poet and divine, one of " the greatest of the friends and companions of the sainted historian and bishop. To him, on independent " grounds, and by a course of argument of singular force and sagacity, Muratori, in his letter to Lorenzo " Zacagni, attributes the composition of the Creed. It was exactly at the period when the heresies of " Eutyches and his followers were gaining ground in western France that Venantius went to Tours. I " conjecture then that he was induced by Gregory of Tours to draw up in a hymnal form, which has much " of the strong antithetical and alliterative character of Sedulius and the early Christian poets of the West, " an antidote at once to the heresy of Arius, against which Gregory had so many arguments with the " Envoys of the Spanish Kings, and to the Eutychianism then beginning to present as grave a danger on " the other side."§ Queen Brunichildis, the sister-in-law of Ingoberga and wife of Sigibert, had been

* Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin., page 98.

† Compendium Theol. ad Fratrem Reginaldum, cap. CCXI.

‡ See Salig de Eutychianismo ante Eutychen, page 342.

§ In assigning the *form* and constructive features of the creed to Venantius, I by no means deny the far greater antiquity of the materials with which he was working. These had already been rudely manipulated by Vincent of Lerins, by Avitus of Vienne, and probably many others, and were detected in the former writer by Quesnel, who was led by the discovery to attribute to him the authorship of the Confession itself. From the period of the Council of Ephesus numberless attempts were made to add to the creed, by way of appendix and amplification, those doctrinal conclusions whose actual insertion in the creed was so sternly prohibited by every subsequent Council. The "Athanasian Creed" may be regarded as at once the most elaborately finished and the most successful of all these performances. The portion of it relating to the two natures in Christ is derived in its principal features from the famous letter of reconciliation of St. Cyril, addressed to John the Patriarch of Antioch, beginning, "*Latentur celi et exultet terra*," an opening which Eugenius IV. not inappropriately adopted for the Bull of re-union of the East and West at Florence.

just converted from Arianism to the Catholic truth, and the peculiar position which this Creed holds in the Utrecht Psalter leads me to venture the supposition that it may have been written for her, with the "Faith of St. Athanasius" (as it is sometimes called) added, as a special safeguard to preserve her in her new profession. Thus it might well have passed to Bertha either before or after her coming to England. Or possibly, to offer another conjecture, it might have been sent her as a relic of her mother, by St. Gregory of Tours, who attended the saintly recluse in her last illness; for Ingoberga had entrusted to St. Gregory the execution of her last wishes, and left bequests to the Church of Tours and to that of Le Mans. Is it not then probable that the Utrecht MS. passed to Queen Bertha as a last gift of her mother, and that thus it found its way to England?

It is a fact singularly illustrative of the connexion of Gregory of Tours with the Creed in question that a number of incidental and fragmentary passages in which he records his controversial conversations with the Arian ambassadors to the court of King Chilperic and others, agree not only doctrinally but even verbally with the Athanasian formula, and either point to it as already existing or indicate the materials out of which it was formed.

Let the reader compare the following parallel passages:

ATHANASIAN CREED.

I. Fides Catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur.

II. Neque confundentes Personas neque substantiam separantes.

III. Alia est enim Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

IV. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, æqualis gloria, coæterna majestas.

V. Immensus Pater, etc. nec tres immensi sed unus immensus.

VI. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes sed unus Omnipotens.

VII. Deus et Spiritus Sanctus.

VIII. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedens.

IX. Et in hac Trinitate, nihil prius aut posterius sed totæ tres Personæ coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales.

X. Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patri secundum humanitatem.

ST. GREGORY OF TOURS.

I. Unus Deus in Trinitate et trinus in Unitate.

II. Credo hanc Trinitatem in distinctione subsistere Personarum. Credo inseparabilem Trinitatem.

III. Aliam quidem Personam Patris, aliam Filii, aliam Spiritus Sancti.

IV. In quâ Trinitate, unam deitatem, unam potentiam, unam essentiam esse confiteor Quia deitas una, una erit et gloria.

V. Nos unum immensum Dominum confitemur.

VI. Tres personæ sed unum regnum una majestas una potentia.

VII. Spiritus Deus est.*

VIII. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre Filioque procedens.

IX. Unum in Trinitate propter personarum numerum . . . in his tribus Personis una gloria una æternitas.

X. Æqualis est Filius in deitate, non minor.

These are but specimens of the parallel passages which might be alleged from the writings of St. Gregory of Tours, but they derive a peculiar weight from their being fragments of conversations in which possibly all the other statements of the Creed may have been anticipated or alleged, and from the "undesigned coincidences," as Paley would call them, which they represent. But a singular light is thrown upon them by the fact that Chilperic, to whom most of them were addressed, about the year 580, wrote a decree or ordinance (indiculum) "that the Holy Trinity should not be named in a distinction of persons, but should be merely "called God" (l. V. c. 44). It was upon this that St. Gregory held the long argument with him which he describes in the chapter referred to, and contrived to keep him from publishing what he had written. The king wrote, however, certain other religious statements in a metrical form in the manner of Sedulius, but so rude as not to deserve the name of verses. Now must not the idea present itself to every reader

* It is a very curious fact that St. Gregory here quotes from Scripture; supposing, most unaccountably, that the words of our Lord "God is a Spirit" should be rendered "the Spirit is God." In answer to King Chilperic's denial of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, *because it is not so written in the Scripture*, St. Gregory exclaims "Heu, heu, quàm iniquam sententiam! Et "ubi est illud quod Dominus ait 'Spiritus Deus est?'"—(Hist., l. VI., c. 18.)

that no moment could have been more opportune for the composition of the Athanasian Creed than this? At no period could the need of it become more urgent; by no one could it be more naturally suggested than by Gregory himself; no hand could be more ready and fitted for the work than that of the poetical Fortunatus, no form could be more proper for it than that in which it is conceived; no incident could disclose so distinct a motive for its production as the King's proposed definition; for if the Athanasian Creed was compiled with any special object whatever, it was in order to prove that "the Holy Trinity should be named in a distinction of persons," and not merely "called God" to introduce a Sabellian confusion.

When we add to these facts and conjectures the important evidence of Muratori, derived from the style and method of Fortunatus himself, and observe the recurrence of the same thoughts and phrases in the Athanasian formula and in the writings of St. Gregory and Fortunatus, the patron and client, it appears to me that the probability of the Utrecht MS. having been written at Tours under the eye of St. Gregory as a gift to one of the three Queens I have indicated—Brunichildis, Ingoberga, Bertha—becomes singularly strengthened, and thus the historical pedigree of the volume would agree perfectly with its palæographical claims. I will not add more to this long letter than the expression of the hope that these conjectures, whether accepted or rejected, may tempt other critics, better equipped, and armed with weapons of greater precision than I can claim to possess, to enter upon a path which is certainly one of increasing obscurity at every step, and to pursue it with more success.

Believe me to remain,

My dear Sir Duffus Hardy,

Ever sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. JENKINS.

Lyminge Rectory,
Dec. 31st, 1873.

APPENDIX II.

Letter from HOWARD PAYN, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to Sir T. DUFFUS HARDY.

SIR,

Civil and Military Club, 2nd March 1874.

I HAVE much pleasure in complying with the request, conveyed to me by Mr. Martin, to send you an account of the result of an examination of the volume of fac-similes of the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter shown to me at the British Museum, and of the autotype copy of the Psalter itself which you have since been good enough to send to me for inspection.

In the first place I would remark that the sketches are of so rude and unstudied a character, although executed with so much spirit, and contain such an amount of detail in places in which no artist would think of putting it, that it is very apparent the designer had been brought up in no school of art, that he knew nothing of conventional rendering, except in the few instances I shall presently point out, in which he has followed the few traditional rules that existed at the time he drew, but that he was simply gifted with a great natural talent for reproducing with his pen the ordinary objects most familiar to him.

That from this source alone he drew his inspirations, the drawings give the strongest evidence. In the most ideal and difficult flights of imagination he never gets beyond a simple, though often grotesque, combination of familiar objects. In the LIX Psalm (English version), to illustrate the verse "The enemy shall make a noise like a dog, and go about the city," he actually draws two of these animals wandering about within a square of embattled walls; and in the same design we have a number of people sitting round a bare table gesticulating violently with their arms to illustrate the next passage "They grudge if they be not satisfied."

It is necessary to clear the ground thus far, for I think we shall be justified in looking for the originator of these drawings not in any late school of conventional art, but in concluding that they are really natural productions of their apparent time and place. If, therefore, it is possible from internal evidence to indicate these, we have at once a very important clue to their history.

An examination will show at once that the whole series is redolent, if I may use the expression, of Egypt and Palestine. There is hardly an object I can remember that would not be perfectly familiar to any one

living in those countries, and moreover there is hardly an illustration to be found which could have been produced by one not familiar with them.

The animals drawing the plough are seldom oxen, they are in nearly every case the Egyptian buffaloes or the humped African cattle, and when an exception occurs the small kine and the simple plough are introduced, such as are commonly to be met with in Palestine to this day. The sheep and goats are invariably the products of those countries. Lions, bears, boars, stags, and foxes, or jackals represent the beasts of the field; the eagle, the pelican, the stork, and the ibis appear as fowls of the air; and the crocodile and serpent represent creeping things. The well-bred high-spirited horses of unmistakeable origin, the equally well-known cur that rushes out at strangers from any Arab village, the wild ass of the desert, the mode of sepulture, the Egyptian water jars, the naked workers in the fields, the strange gods given us as Apis and Mnevis, the sacred bulls, the peculiar rendering of the sun and moon as human faces, probably as Osiris and Isis, the latter having invariably the branching horns of the goddess, the common symbol of her in her own country, the single river full of fish,—the Jordan or the Nile, from the boats probably the latter,—seem to show an inhabitant of Egypt; while again the hills, always the rugged, bare, stratified limestone rocks of Palestine, apparently so familiar to the artist that he only seems to indicate them; the trees, the palm, the olive, not the smaller European variety but the gnarled old sturdy trunks of Palestine, the cedar, the thick and well-defined spreading tree of the Lebanon; the walls of towns always the walls of Jerusalem, square blocked, towered, and embattled,—all convince me he was equally acquainted with the scenery of the Holy Land; and such local touches as the passionate grief of the widow, in the illustration of the CIX Psalm (English version), who hangs her ornaments and articles of clothing on the tree under which she is weeping on her husband's grave, a common Eastern custom, show more than a passing acquaintance with the manners of the inhabitants.

So prominent indeed is the Syrian landscape that at first sight the thoroughly Egyptian surroundings of the artist might not have sufficient attention directed to them; but I would ask you to turn to the XCIII Psalm,—to illustrate the "floods have risen" we have an evident allusion to the inundation of the Nile. You will see the old rendering of a river god holding a reversed water jar given in quite an unusual manner. You will notice that we have here two gods each presiding over a lake, the streams from which unite and cause a flood; two Atlantes, after the manner of the supporters of the Denderah Zodiac, rescuing the land from destruction by raising it on their shoulders.

There can be little doubt that we have in these two lakes the traditional sources of the Nile preserved to us by Herodotus; and to show that it is not an accidental rendering, we have it again repeated in the XCVIII Psalm (English version), in the illustration of the passage "Let the floods clap their hands."

I will also ask you to compare many of the instruments of agriculture, the method of building, the triangular harp, the lute, the double pipe, the hand drums, even the cattle goad and the weaving machine, the wine jars, the cups, and other articles presented in these drawings with sketches from the tombs of the Beni Hassan or from Thebes, and I think you will be convinced that we have here depicted the common surroundings of Egyptian life.

And even to go a little beyond the common surroundings, we find the unicorn, always a puzzle to the naturalist, given as the ibex, which so often figures on the tombs with a single horn; the jaws of Hell are only another form of the Egyptian monster "Typho," the "swallower of the sea," the "all devourer;" while the wind organ, so far from being an argument for a western origin of the drawings, is directly the other way, that instrument having been long known in the east before its introduction into Europe; it was described by St. Jerome, and an example may still be seen, says M. Lacroix, on the obelisk at Constantinople erected in the time of Theodosius the Great.*

Having thus indicated the two countries common to the drawings, let me carry the investigation a step further.

It will appear that the common and ordinary objects represented are nearly always Egyptian; the bolder and more striking subjects, the hills and trees for example, being drawn from Palestine originals. Had the artist lived in the latter country he would hardly have gone out of his way to have introduced so many Egyptian details of no general interest, but if we allow that he lived habitually in Egypt and had frequently

* It may be of some interest, as to the antiquity of the architectural details, to point out that the remarkable representation of the temple with the pediment and Fleur de Lys ornament is similar in these particulars to the temple on the reverse of the coins of Probus (A.D. 276), who had been raised to the purple by the armies of the east. It is possible both have a common origin.

travelled to the Holy City, or had remained there long enough to have become acquainted with the general features of the country, the reason would be apparent. Let me adopt this view, as it seems a probable one, and let us see whether we can find any indications, supposing he lived in Egypt, of the particular part in which he resided.

In the first place it was in all probability in a seaport town. We have so many illustrations of ships, evidently not mere river boats from their strong build, their high bulwarks, their heavy masts and sails, and their anchors, very suggestive of the high-prowed vessels of the Pompeii frescoes; and in the next place it must have been under the power of the Romans, for we find Roman temples, soldiers, armour, furniture, and domestic vessels.

In what part of Egypt therefore must we look for a city combining these several requirements. I think it would not be difficult to hazard a speculation, but I would rather let our artist tell his own story. Can we find any evidence, however slight it may be, in the drawings themselves, that will enable us to fix upon the actual spot?

Singularly enough we have objects represented which show very strongly such indications. In illustrating the XXXIV Psalm (English version), to represent the great troubles of the righteous we have depicted several instruments of martyrdom, the cross, the sword, the chain, the rack, which when viewed with the next object I shall point out strongly suggest the persecutions of the "Diocletian Era" (A.D. 284), still said to be a chronological era among the Copts.

The other object I allude to is the emblem of the pride of man and the exaltation of the wicked, LXXIV Psalm (English version),—a pillar surmounted by a statue of a Roman soldier. I think no one who has seen the column of Diocletian at Alexandria, now called Pompey's Pillar, can fail to recognize this object. It was one probably before the eyes of the artist at the time he drew, and he introduces it over and over again. In it he saw the pride and power of a Roman conqueror and a cruel persecutor of the early Christians. It is true there is no statue on it now, but nearly all authorities agree that it had one (a foot is said to be still *in situ*), and perhaps we have in these drawings the only representation of the monument as it originally stood.

These various indications lead to the conclusion that the drawings were in all probability done in that flourishing seat of learning, Alexandria.

Having thus touched upon the geographical part of the question, let me seek now to find some evidence as to the artist himself. It may at first be thought that this is pushing the inquiry too far, as I am dealing only with the drawings, but I hope to show you it is not. At any rate let me draw your attention to the traces we find of the school of theology or thought to which he belonged, and to the traditions he followed.

In the first place let me ask you to notice the total absence of any monastic dress. A Latin or rather an Italian draughtsman would never have failed to note this; here the costumes, lay and ecclesiastical, are all alike. In an Eastern drawing they would naturally be indistinguishable, the flowing robe being common to all. The bishops, plainly intended at the head of the Creed, are without mitres,—a mark of distinction an Italian monk would certainly have put in, but an Eastern monk would with equal certainty have left out; mitres* never having been worn in the Eastern branches of the Church, nor are they in use in the Greek Church at the present day.

In illustrating the prophetic passages in the Psalms relating to the Nativity (LXXXVII Eng. ver.), the Passion (LXXXIX, CXV Canticle, and Apostles Creed), and the Resurrection (XVI) of our Lord we have the close adherence to the Greek traditional forms. In the Nativity we have the Virgin on the couch, the Infant standing in a vessel, being washed by the persons attending Him, angels hover over holding the cloths and napkins, while Joseph stands looking on.

In the Crucifixion we have the simplest and almost the oldest form of pictorial representation of our Saviour on the Cross. We see the Divinity of our Lord kept in view by the quartered nimbus, given alone to Him through these drawings. On either side of the Cross stand Calpurnius and Longinus, the one offering the sponge and the other holding the spear which he is in the act of thrusting into the Saviour's side. Behind these two, further away from the Cross, stand the Virgin and St. John, one on each side, in attitudes of the

* M. Martiny in his Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes, under the head Eveque, says, "Dans les premiers siècles la mitre de 'Eveques n'était guère qu'une sorte de bandelette ou une lame étroite de métal liée autour de la tête.' This bandelette was called a *στέφανος*, or sometimes *χίταρις*. He adds, "Jusqu'au sixième siècle elle s'écartera peu de cette simplicité." From subsequent additions to these bands sprang the representation of the "cloven tongues," now known as the mitre in the Western Churches, and the crowns at present worn by the Eastern bishops as a sign of their royal priesthood.

deepest affliction; and behind St. John, on a small eminence, stands the good centurion lifting up his hands in astonishment and conviction.

The figure of our Saviour is too small to make out whether His feet are pierced by one nail or two nails, or whether the Cross has a *suppedaneum*; but as the figure is draped from the hips to the knees we may conclude the Greek tradition has been carefully followed. The resurrection takes the oldest form of the same traditional rendering, the same in fact as we find in the Byzantine ivory carvings ascribed to the fourth and fifth centuries. The angel sitting on the stone rolled away from the empty sepulchre addresses the three *myrrhophoroi* who raise their hands in an attitude of fear.

But not only in these great scenes do we trace the bent of the artist. The cross, so often introduced into these drawings, is invariably the cross of the Eastern churches, the double cross,—known in heraldry at the present day as the patriarchal cross,—the cross with equal arms, and the Tau cross, more purely Egyptian. The hand of Providence stretching from the clouds, in itself a testimony of the antiquity of the illustrations, always gives the ρ blessing, the two forefingers separated, never in the upright parallel position of the Latins. The nimbus on the head of our Lord, as I before remarked, is the quartered nimbus, while the Deity is always surrounded by the Vesica glory.

These details seem to support one another in a most striking manner in showing that the artist belonged to an Eastern and not to a Western branch of the early Church; and taken in connexion with the place in which I have ventured to suggest they were produced, would indicate with every reasonable probability that he belonged to the Church at Alexandria, of which St. Athanasius was a bishop.

Having thus fixed upon the country and the school indicated in these drawings, let me turn to the last point, and that to venture a suggestion as to the time of their production. To attempt to fix this accurately from internal evidence is no doubt impossible, that evidence is too slight; but if the history of the Church at Alexandria is turned to, I think some light may be thrown upon the question.

Firstly, then, it must be remembered that St. Athanasius died in A.D. 373. The Creed having, it is said, been taken at any rate from the teaching of that bishop, I need not start from an earlier period. Supposing, then, the drawings were, as I have attempted to show, produced in Alexandria, I think I may with equal probability fix 638 A.D. as the latest date they could have assigned to them. The latter is, as you will remember, the year in which Alexandria was destroyed, the great library burnt, and the theological schools scattered. At this time, too, the Holy City itself was in the hands of the infidel, and pilgrimages, for a time at any rate, impossible. Had the artist lived then, and had he been compelled to fly to Europe, in the drawings of so accurate an observer we should not fail to find some indications of new objects and scenery among which he had come; but as far as I can see no such indications exist. The whole of the drawings show Eastern surroundings, and I think it is not unreasonable to conclude that he carried out his labour of love undisturbed by fire or sword.

Turning for a moment to the drawing at the head of the Creed, which appears to have provoked much discussion, I think the view I have adopted will explain what it probably refers to.

Before the death of St. Athanasius we find he returned, in 361, to Alexandria after his seven years exile; and we are told that he immediately held a synod or convocation within his diocese, at which Eusebius of Vercellæ was present, and that the Nicene Creed, drawn up in 325, was confirmed. After the Council of Nice the doctrines of Arius had gained rather than lost ground, and it was in the struggle against this heresy St. Athanasius had suffered so many misfortunes. What is more probable than that the doctrines should have been again condemned at this, the first opportunity afforded him, and that the draughtsman at Alexandria should have depicted in his own way the provincial council of his own Church, in which the substance, if not the actual form, of the Fides Catholica, so long known in connexion with the name of his own bishop, had been asserted.

It does not, of course, follow that the drawings were made at so early a date,—though as far as the Roman buildings, dresses, arms, and furniture are concerned we might agree with the date marked on the fly-leaf of the Psalter, and allow them to be of the age of Valentinian,—and we have the presence of the traditional Christian art to deal with, and this will bring us to a somewhat later period.

That this period is still a very early one is clearly shown from the nimbus being still confined to the Two Persons of the Trinity (the Third being always represented by the dove), it is not even given to the Angels, the Virgin, or the Apostles; the hand issuing from the clouds as a symbol of the Deity; and the rendering of the Ascension (over the Apostles Creed), where the hand grasps that of our Lord as he rises to the heavens; still there are other subjects to be found which take the illustrations out of the first stage of Christian art.

The representation of the Infant Saviour on the knees of the Virgin is, I think, sufficient to show that the illustrations are of a later date than the Council of Ephesus, held in A.D. 431, when the Nestorian heresy, which refused the title of Theotokos to the Virgin,—a heresy St. Cyril, another great bishop of Alexandria, had the chief part in opposing,—was condemned, and this group of the Mother and Child adopted* as a theological symbol by the orthodox Church.

I think there can be little doubt upon this point, and had the artist confined himself to this we could have assigned the production of the drawings to the middle of the fifth century. But he did not stop here.

We find the old symbolism of the Hand in representing the Deity, which lasted for the first four centuries, passing away. The old form is retained, but with it we find the substitution of the human figure to have developed to such an extent that it has already become a conventional rendering. The figure is represented within the Vesica, seated on the rainbow, and having in addition the plain nimbus; a rendering so exceedingly beautiful and appropriate that I cannot think it is the chance production of an artist; it seems more like a deliberate adoption by the Church, though I am unable to say when it was introduced. We know, however, that the Nestorian heresy continued to flourish, and that a second council was held at Constantinople in A.D. 553, in which it was again condemned. In order that there should no longer be any distinct renderings of the Two Persons of the Trinity, I think it most probable that, as both were to be in human form, this new figure was about this time substituted; and, possibly for the first time in Christian art, we find in the CX Psalm (English version) both seated in Glory, God the Son being distinguished by the quartered nimbus. It does not, of course, follow that the Alexandrian draughtsman, himself in the midst of such a school of learning and theology, should have required any such assistance as that of a council; but as he seems to have followed the few traditional renderings that then existed in other matters he probably did so in this. Other signs seem to show a considerable lapse of time after the first-named council, among which I may mention the delivery of souls from Limbo (in the illustration to the Apostles Creed); the threefold arrangement of many of the illustrations, such as that to the Gloria in Excelsis,—in which I may remark we have the old and new representation of the Agnus Dei in one group, showing another striking instance of transitional work,—pointing clearly to that period which occurred after the first blow had been given to early symbolism, and before the full tide of Byzantine tradition had risen to carry all before it; the ornamentation of the cross, of which we have several varieties, which would require time to develop after the persecutions; and the distinguishing, evidently intended, in the ranks and offices of the Angels, still, however, without the nimbus,—point more to the sixth century than to the fifth, and it is to the latter part of this century, that is to say, an intermediate date between the last-mentioned council and the destruction of Alexandria, I would venture to assign these most interesting compositions.†

To speak more positively in dealing with such early productions is, I think, impossible; experience must necessarily be limited. I have therefore thought it right to place before you the grounds upon which I have based my opinion, in order that you may judge for yourself of their sufficiency. I feel that every gleam of light that can be obtained from these drawings will assist in illuminating a very interesting, though obscure question; and that we should be neglecting a very important head of evidence on the whole discussion if they do not receive a proper consideration.

I should be only too glad if any humble word of mine should induce others more competent and experienced in early Christian art than myself to direct that attention to the full and proper examination of these early pictures, which every one must feel they merit.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

HOWARD PAYN.

Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L.

&c. &c. &c.

* I use the word *adopted* here, for there is little doubt the group appeared some time before this date, but it was not in general use, nor was it probably anything more than the historical treatment of the subject.

† In the group over the Gloria in Excelsis we have a remarkable confirmation of the other evidence as to this date. The Second Person of the Trinity is here doubly represented:—

a. As a Child, with the quartered nimbus, in the arms of the Virgin.

b. Under the symbol of the Lamb.

In the first we have the figure adopted at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, and in the second the figure afterwards forbidden to be used by the Council of Constantinople (Concilium Trullanum—canon 82.) in A.D. 692, thus showing the drawings were produced after the one Council and before the other.

APPENDIX III.

Comparison of the text in the Utrecht Psalter with those in the Gallican, Roman, Vetus, Vulgate, Hebraic, and Conciliatum.

N.B.—Clerical errors, whether of orthography or omissions of single words or letters, are not noticed.

U signifies the Utrecht text. G, the Gallican. R, the Roman. Vet., the Vetus. V, the Vulgate. H, the Hebraic. C, the Conciliatum.

When not otherwise noticed the Vulgate and Conciliatum editions agree with the Utrecht and Gallican.

Psalm I.:

- v. 2. in lege domini voluntas ejus] U. G. in lege domini fuit voluntas ejus] R. Vet. in lege ejus] Vul.
 „ 3. non defluet . . . faciet] U. G. non decidet . . . fecerit] R. Vet.
 „ 5. resurgunt] U. G. R. Vet. resurgent] V.

Psalm II.:

- v. 6. ejus] U. G. domini] R. ipsius] Vet.
 „ 9. tanquam] U. G. et tanquam] V. R. Vet.

Psalm III.:

- v. 6. et soporatus sum et exsurrexi quia] U. G. et sonum cæpi et resurrexi quoniam] R. exurrexi] Vet.

Psalm IV.:

- v. 1. exaudivit] U. G. Vet. te exaudisti] R.
 „ 2. miserere mei] U. G. Vet. miserere mei domine] R.
 „ 3. gravi corde] U. G. graves corde] R. Vet.
 „ 8. A fructu frumenti et vini] U. G. a tempore frumenti et vini] R. et omitted] Vet.
 „ 9. in idipso] U. in idipsum] G. Vet. dormiam] U. G. Vet. obdormiam] R.

Psalm V.:

- v. 4. Deus volens] U. G. Vet. volens Deus] R.
 „ 5. neque] U. G. non] R. Vet.
 „ 6. odisti omnes] U. G. odisti domine omnes] R. Vet.
 „ 8. introibo in] U. G. Vet. introibo domine in] R.
 „ 9. Domine deduc me in justitia tua] U. G. deduc me domine in tua justitia] R. domine deduc me in tua justitia] Vet.
 in conspectu meo viam tuam] U. in conspectu tuo viam meam] G. V. R. in conspectu tuo iter meum] Vet. ante faciem meam viam tuam] H.
 „ 12. irritaverunt] U. G. exacerbaverunt] R. in amari caverunt] Vet.
 „ 14. benedices justo] U. G. H. Vet. benedices justum] R.
 „ 15. tuæ omitted in U.; it occurs in G. R. Vet.

Psalm VI.:

- v. 1. ne in furore tuo] U. G. ne in ira tua] R. Vet.
 neque in ira tua] U. G. neque in furore tuo] R. nec in furore tuo] Vet.
 „ 3. miserere mei] U. G. Vet. miserere mihi] R.
 ossa mea] U. G. Vet. omnia ossa mea] R.
 convertere domine et eripe] U. G. et tu domine usquequo convertere et eripe] R. convertere domine et erue] Vet. revertere domine erue] H.
 v. 6. lachrimis meis] U. G. H. lachrimis] R. in lachrimis meis] Vet.
 „ 8. a furore] U. G. præira] R. ab ira] Vet.
 „ 10. conturbentur vehementer omnes] U. G. conturbentur omnes] R. Vet.
 convertantur et erubescant] U. G. avertantur retrorsum et erubescant] R. convertantur et confundantur] Vet.

Psalm VII.:

- v. 1. salvum me fac ex omnibus] U. G. Vet. libera me ab omnibus] R.
 et libera me] U. G. et eripe me] R. et erue me] Vet.
 „ 5. compræhendat et] U. G. Vet. compræhendat eam et] R.
 „ 6. exaltare] U. G. Vet. et exaltare] V. R.
 „ 7. et exurge] U. G. Vet. exurge] R.
 „ 8. regredere : dominus judicat] U. G. Vet. regredere domine judica] R.
 „ 9. innocentiam meam] U. G. Vet. innocentiam manuum mearum] R.
 „ 10. et scrutans] U. et omitted in G. R. Vet.
 „ 12. judex justus et fortis et patiens] U. G. judex justus fortis et longanimis] R. Vet.
 „ 13. nisi conversi fueritis] U. G. nisi convertamini] R. Vet.
 „ 14. et in eo paravit] U. G. et in ipso paravit] R. Vet.
 „ 17. in verticem ipsius] U. G. in verticem ejus] R. Vet.

Psalm VIII.:

- v. 3. ultorem] U. G. defensorem] R. Vet.
 „ 4. cælos tuos] U. G. tuos omitted] R. Vet.

Psalm IX.:

- v. 3. peribunt] U. G. Vet. perient] R. perierint] H.
 „ 4. judicas justitiam] U. G. V. judicas æqui talem] R. Vet.
 „ 8. paravit] U. G. Vet. parabit] R.
 in justitia] U. G. in æquitate] R. Vet. in æquitatibus] H.
 „ 10. dereliquisti] U. G. Vet. dereliquis] R.
 „ 11. studia] U. G. miribilia] R. Vet.
 „ 12. recordatus] U. G. memoratus] R. Vet.
 non est oblitus] U. G. Vet. et non est oblitus] R.
 clamorem pauperum] U. G. Vet. orationes pauperum] R.
 „ 13. miserere mei] U. G. Vet. miserere mihi] R.
 „ 16. in laqueo isto quam absconderunt] U. G. in laqueo quem occultaverunt mihi] R.
 in muscipula ista quam occultaverunt] Vet.
 „ 18. deum] U. G. Vet. dominum] R.
 „ 19. pauperis] U. G. pauperum] R. Vet.
 „ 20. confortetur] U. G. prævaleat] R. Vet.
 „ 23. in consiliis quibus cogitant] U. G. in cogitationibus suis quas] R. in cogitationibus
 quibus] Vet.
 „ 24. iniquus] U. G. qui iniquagerit] R. Vet.
 „ 25. exacerbavit] U. G. irritabit] R. irritavit] Vet.
 non quæret] U. G. non inquires] R. non exquiret] Vet.
 v. 26. inquinatæ sunt viæ illius] U. G. polluantur viæ ejus] R. contaminantur viæ ejus] Vet.
 „ 28. dixit enim] U. G. Vet. dixit ei] R.
 a generatione] U. G. de generatione] R. Vet.
 „ 29. cujus maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolo] U. G. Vet. cujus os maledictione
 et amaritudine plenum est et dolo] R.
 „ 31. in abscondito quasi leo in spelunca sua] U. G. in occulto sicut leo in cubili suo] R.
 in occulto velut leo in cubili suo] Vet.
 „ 33. dominatus fuerit] U. G. dominabitur] R. Vet.
 „ 34. dixit enim] U. G. Vet. dixit ei] R.
 „ 35. pauperum] U. G. pauperum in finem] R. Vet.
 „ 36. Deum] U. G. Vet. Dominum] R.
 non requiret] U. G. Vet. non requiret deus] R.
 „ 37. in manus tuas] U. G. Vet. in manibus tuis] R.
 „ 38. tibi derelectus] U. G. Vet. tibi enim derelictus] R.
 orphano] U. G. pupillo] R. Vet.
 „ 39. queretur peccatum illius] U. G. requiretur delictum ejus] R. Vet.

- v. 40. Dominus regnabit] U. G. Vet. regnabit dominus] R.
 de terra illius] U. G. Vet. de terra ejus] R.
 „ 41. præparationem] U. G. Vet. desideria] R.
 audivit] U. G. exaudivit] R. Vet.

Psalm X.:

- v. 2. intenderunt] U. G. tetenderunt] R. Vet.
 „ 8. justitias] U. G. Vet. justitiam] R.

Psalm XI.:

- v. 2. locuti sunt] U. G. Vet. locuti sunt mala] R.
 „ 3. labia dolosa linguam magniloquam] U. G. Vet. labia dolosa et linguam magniloquam] R.
 „ 4. dominus est] U. G. Vet. est dominus] R.
 „ 6. in salutari] U. G. Vet. in salutare meum] R.
 „ 7. probatum terræ purgatum septulum] U. G. probatum *omitted*] R. Vet.

Psalm XII.:

- v. 1. usquequo] U. G. Vet. quousque] R.
 „ 5. in misericordia tua] U. G. in tua misericordia] R. Vet.
 „ 6. nomini domini altissimi] U. G. Vet. nomini tuo altissime] R.

Psalm XIII.:

- v. 2. in studiis] U. G. in voluntatibus] R. in affectionibus] Vet.
 „ 10. dominus] U. G. deus] R.
 dominus] U. G. Vet. deus] R.

Psalm XIV.:

- v. 4. proximos suos] U. G. Vet. proximum suum] R.
 „ 5. glorificat] U. G. Vet. magnificat] R.
 „ 6. super innocentes] U. G. Vet. per innocentem] V. R.

Psalm XV.:

- v. 1. speravi in te] U. G. in te speravi] V. R. Vet.
 „ 2. in eis] U. G. inter illos] R. in illis] Vet.
 „ 5. restitues hæreditatem meam mihi] U. G. restitues mihi hæreditatem meam] R. Vet.
 „ 7. qui mihi tribuet] U. R. Vet. qui tribuet mihi] G.
 „ 9. lætatum] U. G. delectatum] R. jocundatum] Vet.

Psalm XVI.:

- v. 1. deprecationem meam] U. G. deprecationi meæ] R. Vet.
 „ 3. oculi tui] U. G. oculi mei] R. Vet.
 æquitates] U. G. æquitatem] R. Vet.
 „ 4. præveni eum et supplantata eum] U. G. præveni eos et subverte eos] R. Vet.
 frameam tuam ab inimicis manus tua] U. G. Vet. frameam inimicorum de manu tua] R.
 „ 15. divide eos in vita eorum] U. G. dispartire eos et supplantata eos in vita ipsorum] R.
 dispartire eos in vita eorum] Vet.
 „ 16. filiis et dimiserunt reliquias suas parvulis suis] U. G. porcina et reliquerunt quæ super
 fuerunt] R. porcina et reliquerunt reliquias parvulis suis] Vet.
 „ 17. cum apparuerit gloria tua] U. G. dum manifestabitur gloria tua] R. Vet.

Psalm XVII.:

- v. 1. fortitudo mea: dominus] U. G. Vet. virtus mea: domine] R.
 „ 3. susceptor] U. G. adjutor] R. redemptor] Vet.
 „ 5. dolores] U. G. Vet. gemitus] R.
 „ 6. præocupaverunt] U. G. prævenerunt] R. Vet.
 „ 10. exarsit] U. G. exardescit] R. Vet.
 „ 15. grando et carbones ignis] U. G. *not in R nor* Vet.
 „ 17. orbes terrarum] U. G. Vet. orbis terræ] R.
 „ 19. de aquis multis] U. G. de multitudine aquarum] R. Vet.
 „ 22. faciet] U. fecit] G. V. R. eruit] Vet.

- v. 23. retribuet] U. G. Vet. retribuit] R.
 puritatem] U. G. Vet. innocentiam] R.
 „ 29. perverteris] U. G. subvertis] R. perversus eris] Vet.
 „ 36. cervorum] U. G. cervi] R. Vet.
 statuens] U. G. statuit] R. statuet] Vet.
 „ 37. posuisti ut arcum] U. G. Vet. posuit arcum] R.
 „ 38. salutis tuæ] U. G. Vet. salutis meæ] R.
 „ 39. correxit me in finem et disciplina tua me docebit] U. G. et disciplina tua ipsa me docebit]
 R. Vet.
 „ 42. confringam] U. G. Vet. affligam] R.
 „ 43. supplantasti insurgentes] U. G. Vet. supplantasti omnes insurgentes] R.
 „ 44. et inimicos meos] U. G. Vet. et inimicorum meorum] R.
 „ 46. eos] U. G. illos] R. Vet.
 „ 48. in auditu] U. G. Vet. ob auditu] R.
 „ 49. inveterati sunt] U. G. inveteraverunt] R. Vet.
 „ 51. vindictas] U. G. Vet. vindictam] R.
 subdis] U. G. Vet. subdidisti] R.
 de inimicis meis] U. G. Vet. dominus de gentibus] R.
 „ 53. in nationibus] U. G. in populis] R. in gentibus] Vet. H.
 „ 54. salutes regis ejus] U. G. salutare regis ipsius] R. salutes regis ipsius] Vet.

Psalm XVIII.:

- v. 8. immaculata] U. G. Vet. irreprehensibiles] R.
 „ 10. permanens] U. G. Vet. permanet] R.
 „ 12. Etenim] U. G. Vet. Nam et] R.
 in custodiendis illis] U. G. in custodiendo illa] R. Vet.
 „ 13. munda me] U. G. munda me domine] R. Vet.

Psalm XIX.:

- v. 3. sit omnis] U. G. Vet. sit dominus omnis] R.
 „ 4. tibi secundum] U. G. Vet. tibi dominus secundum] R.
 „ 6. fecit] U. G. Vet. faciet] R.
 „ 7. exaudiet] U. G. Vet. et exaudiet] R.
 „ 8. invocabimus] U. G. magnificabimur] R. exultabimus] Vet. recordabimur] H.
 „ 9. autem] U. G. V. vero] R. Vet.

Psalm XX.:

- v. 1. salutari tuo] U. G. salutare tuum] R. V. Vet.
 „ 2. cordis] U. G. animæ] R. Vet.
 „ 3. in benedictionibus] U. G. Vet. in benedictione] R.
 „ 4. dierum in sæculum et in sæculum sæculi] U. G. V. Vet. dierum in sæculum sæculi] R.
 „ 5. magna gloria ejus] U. G. magna est gloria ejus] R. V. Vet.
 „ 6. benedictionem] U. G. Vet. benedictione] R.
 lætificabis] U. G. Vet. lætificas] R.
 „ 7. sperat] U. G. Vet. speravit] R.
 „ 11. consilia quæ] U. G. consilium quod] R. Vet.
 „ 12. vultum eorum] U. G. Vet. vultum illorum] R.

Psalm XXI.:

- v. 2. et non exaudies] U. G. Vet. nec exaudies] R.
 „ 7. omnes videntes me deriserunt me] U. G. omnes qui videbant me aspernabantur me] R.
 omnes qui conspiciebant me subsannabant me] Vet.
 „ 9. extraxisti] U. G. Vet. abstraxisti] R.
 projectus sum] U. G. jactatus sum] R. confirmatus] Vet.
 „ 11. quoniam] U. G. et] R. quia] Vet.
 „ 13. super me] U. G. in me] R. Vet.

- v. 14. effusus sum] U. G. Vet. effusa sunt] R.
 „ 15. Factum est] U. G. Vet. Et factum est] R.
 „ 16. Aruit tanquam] U. G. Exaruit velut] R. Vet.
 deduxisti] U. G. Vet. deduxerunt] R.
 „ 19. super vestem meam] U. G. Vet. super veste mea] R.
 „ 20. auxilium tuum] U. G. auxilium tuum a me] R. Vet. V.
 „ 22. Salva me ex ore] U. G. Libera me de ore] R. Salvam me fac de ore] Vet.
 unicornium] U. G. Vet. unicornuorum] R.
 „ 24. glorificate] U. G. magnificate] R. Vet.
 „ 25. depræcationem pauperis] U. G. Vet. præces pauperum] R.
 „ 26. cum clamarem] U. G. Vet. dum clamarem] R.
 „ 27. laus mea] U. G. Vet. laus mihi] R.
 reddam in conspectu timentium] U. G. domino reddam coram timentibus] R. confitebor
 tibi coram timentibus] Vet.
 „ 28. Vivent corda eorum] U. G. Vet. Vivet cor eorum] R.
 „ 30. universæ familiæ] U. G. omnes patriæ] R. Vet.
 „ 32. omnes pinques] U. G. omnes divites] R. Vet.
 cadent omnes] U. G. procident universi] R. Vet.
 „ 33. ipsi vivet] U. G. Vet. illi vivet] R. V.
 serviet ipsi] U. G. Vet. serviet illi] R.
 „ 34. annuntiabunt justitiam] U. G. annuntiabunt cœli justitiam] V. R. Vet.

Psalm XXII. :

- v. 3. semitas justitiæ] U. G. Vet. semitam justitiæ] R.
 „ 4. ambulavero] U. G. Vet. ambule] R.
 „ 7. calix meus] U. G. poculum tuum] R. Vet.
 præclarus est] U. G. præclarum est] R. Vet.
 „ 9. et ut inhabitem] U. G. ut inhabitem] R. Vet.

Psalm XXIII. :

- v. 1. in eo] U. G. in ea] R. Vet.
 „ 2. Quia ipse super] U. G. Ipse super] R. Vet.
 eum] U. G. ea] R. eam] Vet.
 eum] U. G. illa] R. eam] Vet.
 „ 6. quærentium eum] U. G. quærentium dominum] R. Vet.
 „ 7. Attollite] U. G. Tollite] R. Vet.
 „ 9. Attollite] U. G. Tollite] R. Vet.

Psalm XXIV. :

- v. 2. qui sustinent te non confundentur] U. G. qui te expectant non confundentur] R. Vet.
 „ 3. confundantur omnes iniqua agentes supervacuæ] U. G. confundantur iniqui facientes
 vana] R. confundantur inique agentes vana] Vet.
 „ 4. demonstra mihi] U. G. notas fac mihi] R. Vet.
 „ 5. salvator meus] U. G. salutaris meus] R. Vet.
 „ 6. misericordiarum tuarum] U. G. misericordiæ tuæ] R. Vet.
 „ 7. ignorentias meas] U. G. ignorentiæ meæ] R. Vet.
 „ 8. misericordiam tuam] U. G. Vet. magnam misericordiam tuam] R.
 memento mei tu] U. G. memor esto mei deus] R. Vet.
 „ 9. dabit] U. G. statuit] R. Vet.
 „ 10. mansuetos] U. G. mites] R. Vet.
 mites] U. G. mansuetos] R. Vet.
 „ 12. multum est] U. G. Vet. copiosum est] R.
 „ 13. qui timet] U. G. qui timeat] R. Vet.
 „ 14. hæreditabit terram] U. G. hæreditatem possidebit] R. Vet.
 „ 16. quia] U. G. Vet. quoniam] R.

- v. 17. multiplicatæ sunt] U. G. Vet. dilatate] R.
 erue me] U. G. eripe me] R. educ me] Vet.
 „ 18. universa delicta mea] U. G. omnia peccata mea] R. Vet.
 „ 20. erue me] U. G. Vet. eripe me domine] R.
 non erubescam] U. G. non confundar] R. Vet.
 speravi in te] U. G. Vet. invocavi te] R.
 „ 21. quia] U. G. quoniam] R. Vet.
 „ 22. Libera Deus Israel ex omnibus tribulationibus suis] U. G. Redeme me Deus Israel ex
 omnibus angustiis meis] R. Redeme Deus Israel ex omnibus tribulationibus ejus] Vet.

Psalm XXV.:

- v. 5. Odivi ecclesiam malignantium] U. G. Odivi congregationem malignorum] R. Odio habui
 congregationem malignantium] Vet.
 „ 6. circumdabo] U. G. Vet. circumibo] R.
 „ 7. laudis] U. G. laudis tuæ] R. Vet.
 „ 8. locum habitationis] U. G. Vet. locum tabernaculi] R.
 „ 12. pes meus stetit in directo] U. G. pes enim meus stetit in via recta] R. pes meus stetit
 in rectitudine] Vet.
 benedicam te domine] U. G. Vet. benedicam dominum] R.

Psalm XXVI.:

- v. 2. protector] U. G. Vet. defensor] R.
 „ 5. adversum me castra] U. G. Vet. adversus me castra] R.
 „ 6. si exurgat adversum me prœlium] U. G. si surgat in me prœlium] R. si insurgat in me
 prœlium] Vet.
 „ 8. et visitem templum ejus] U. G. et protegar a templo] R.
 „ 10. et nunc exaltavit] U. G. nunc autem exaltavit] R. et nunc ecce exaltavit] Vet.
 „ 11. circumivi et immolavi] U. G. Vet. circumibo et immolabo] R.
 vociferationis] U. G. jubilationis] R. Vet.
 „ 13. exquisivit te facies mea: faciem tuam] U. G. quisivi vultum tuum: vultum tuum] R. Vet.
 „ 17. Legem pone mihi] U. G. Legem mihi constitue] R. Vet.
 in semita recta] U. G. Vet. in semitam rectam] R. V.
 „ 18. tribulantium] U. G. Vet. persequentium] R.
 „ 20. dominum viriliter] U. G. Vet. dominum et viriliter] R.

Psalm XXVII.:

- v. 1. ne quando taceas a me et assimilabor] U. G. et ero similis] R. ne quando sileas a me et
 ero similis] Vet.
 „ 2. Exaudi domine] U. G. Vet. Exaudi vocem] R.
 „ 4. Qui loquuntur] U. G. Cum iis qui loquuntur] R. Vet.
 mala autem in cordibus] U. G. mala autem sunt in cordibus] R. mala autem loquuntur
 in cordibus] Vet.
 „ 5. Da illis secundum opera ipsorum] U. G. Vet. Da illis domine secundum opera eorum] R.
 Secundum nequitiam ad inventionum ipsorum] U. G. secundum opera manuum eorum
 retribue illis] Secundum nequitiam studiorum ipsorum retribue illis] R Secundum
 malignitatem affectionum ipsorum] Vet.
 „ 7. in opera manuum ejus] U. G. Vet. opera manuum ejus non consideraverunt] R.
 destrues illos et non ædificabis eos] U. G. Vet. destrue illos nec ædificabis eos] R.
 „ 9. in ipso] U. G. Vet. et in ipso] R.
 „ 10. confitebor ei] U. G. confitebor illi] R. Vet.
 „ 11. salvationum] U. G. salutarium] R. Vet.
 „ 12. hæreditati tuæ] U. G. Vet. hæreditatem tuam] R.
 in æternum] U. G. in sæculum] R. Vet.

Psalm XXVIII.:

- v. 2. in atrio sancto ejus] U. G. in aula sancta ejus] R. Vet.

- v. 6. vitulus] U. C. vitulum G. R. Vet. V.
 quemadmodum] U. G. sicut] R. Vet.
 unicornium] U. G. Vet. unicornuorum] R. rhinocerotis] C.
 „ 7. desertum] U. G. solitudinem] R. Vet.
 „ 8. revelabit] U. G. Vet. revelavit] R.
 omnis dicet] U. G. omnes dicent] R. V. unusquisque dicet] Vet.
 „ 9. inhabitare facit] U. G. inhabitat] R. Vet.
 populo suo] U. G. Vet. populum suum] R.

Psalm XXIX.:

- v. 3. Domine eduxisti ab inferno] U. G. Domine abstraxisti ab inferis] R.
 „ 5. voluntate ejus] U. G. Vet. voluntate ipsius] R. Domine reduxisti ab inferis] Vet.
 „ 8. in voluntate tua] U. G. Vet. in bona voluntate] R.
 „ 11. descendo] U. R. descendero] G. H. Vet.
 „ 13. mei] U. G. mihi] R. Vet.
 „ 14. circumdedisti] U. G. praeinxisti] R. Vet.
 „ 15. ut cantet] U. G. Vet. ut cantem] R.

Psalm XXX.:

- v. 1. libera me] U. G. libera me et eripe me] R. erue me] Vet.
 „ 2. ut eruas me] U. G. ut eripias me] R. ut eximas me] Vet.
 „ 3. in domum] U. G. Vet. in locum] R.
 „ 4. fortitudo mea] U. G. Vet. firmamentum meum] R.
 deduces me] U. G. dux mihi eris] R. Vet.
 „ 5. Educes me] U. G. Et educes me] R. Vet.
 de laqueo hoc quem absconderunt] U. G. de laqueo isto quem occultaverunt] R. de
 muscipula ista quam occultaverunt] Vet.
 protector meus] U. G. Vet. protector meus domine] R.
 „ 6. commendabo] U. G. commendo] R. V. Vet.
 „ 7. vanitates] U. G. vanitatem] R. Vet.
 „ 9. Salvasti] U. G. Salvam fecisti] R. Vet.
 „ 10. in manibus] U. G. in manu] R. in manus] Vet.
 „ 11. miserere mei] U. G. Vet. miserere mihi] R.
 „ 14. valde] U. G. nimium] R. Vet.
 „ 15. foras fugerunt] U. G. foris fugiebant] R. foras fugiebant] Vet.
 oblivioni datus sum tanquam] U. G. excidi tanquam] R. oblitus sum tanquam] Vet.
 „ 16. tanquam vas] U. G. Vet. sicut vas] R.
 commorantium incircuitu] U. G. circum habitantium] R. accolentium in circuitu] Vet.
 „ 17. convenirent] U. G. congregarentur omnes] R. congregarentur ipsi] Vet.
 accipere] U. G. ut acciperent] R. ut acciperet] Vet.
 „ 18. Ego autem] U. G. Vet. Ego vero] R.
 Deus meus es tu] U. G. tu es Deus meus] R. Vet.
 sortes meae] U. G. Vet. tempora mea] R.
 „ 19. Eripe me de manu] U. G. Libera me et eripe me de manibus] R. Erue me de manibus] Vet.
 „ 20. Illustra] U. G. Vet. illumina] R.
 salvum me fac] U. G. Vet. et salvum me fac] R.
 „ 21. muta fiant] U. G. muta officiantur] R. Vet.
 „ 22. et in abusione] U. G. et contemptu] R. Vet.
 „ 24. perfecisti eis qui sperant] U. G. et perfecisti eam sperantibus] R. perfecisti sperantibus
 in te] Vet.
 „ 25. faciei tuae] U. G. Vet. vultus tui] R.
 „ 26. in tabernaculo] U. G. in tabernaculo tuo] R. Vet.
 „ 27. misericordiam suam mihi, in civitate munita] U. G. misericordiam suam in civitate circumstantiae]
 R. Vet.

- v. 28. in excessu mentis meæ] U. G. in pavore meo] R. in extasi mea] Vet.
 a facie] U. G. Vet. a vultu] R.
 „ 29. orationis meæ] U. G. Vet. deprecationis meæ] R.
 „ 30. veritates] U. G. veritatem] V. R. Vet.
 retribuet abundanter facientibus] U. G. retribuet iis qui abundantur faciunt] R. Vet.

Psalm XXXI.:

- v. 2. in spiritu] U. G. in ore] R. Vet.
 „ 3. ossa mea] U. G. Vet. omnia ossa mea] R.
 „ 4. in erunna mea] U. G. Vet. in erunnam] R.
 „ 5. et injustitiam meam non abscondi] U. G. et injustitias meas non operui] R. et injustitiam meam non operui] Vet.
 „ 6. confitebor] U. G. pronunciabo] R. Vet.
 injustitiam meam] U. G. injustitias meas] R. Vet.
 peccati mei] U. G. cordis mei] R. Vet.
 „ 9. Tu es refugium meum a tribulatione] U. G. Tu es mihi refugium a pressura] R. Tu mihi es refugium meum a pressura] Vet.
 erue me] U. G. redime me] R. Vet.
 „ 10. tibi dabo] U. G. Vet. dabo tibi] R.
 gradieris] U. G. Vet. ingredieris] R.
 „ 12. in camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe] U. G. in freno et camo maxillas constringes eorum] R. Vet.
 „ 13. peccatoris: sperantem] U. G. Vet. peccatorum: sperantes] R.

Psalm XXXII.:

- v. 1. Exultate] U. G. Vet. Gaudete] R.
 laudatio] U. G. Vet. collaudatio] R. V.
 „ 2. illi] U. G. ei] R. Vet.
 „ 3. in vociferatione] U. G. in jubilatione] R. Vet.
 „ 4. rectum est verbum] U. G. rectus est sermo] R. Vet.
 ab eo autem] U. G. ab ipso autem] R. ab ipso enim] Vet.
 „ 8. omnes inhabitantes orbem] U. G. universi et qui habitant orbem] R.
 „ 11. autem] U. G. Vet. vero] R.
 in æternum manet] U. G. manet in æternum] R. Vet.
 in generatione et generationem] U. G. in sæculum sæculi] R. in sæcula sæculorum] Vet.
 „ 12. Deus ejus] U. G. Deus eorum] R. Vet.
 elegit in hæreditatem] U. G. elegit dominus in hæreditatem] R. Vet.
 „ 13. respexit] U. G. Vet. prospexit] R.
 vidit] U. G. Vet. et vidit] R.
 „ 14. terram] U. G. Vet. orbem] R.
 „ 16. Non salvatur] U. G. Non salvabitur] R. Non salvus fit] Vet.
 virtutem] U. G. virtutem suam] R.
 et gigas non salvabitur] U. G. nec gigas salus erit] R.
 virtutis] U. G. Vet. fortitudinis] R.
 „ 17. Fallax] U. G. falsus] R. mendax] Vet.
 non salvabitur] U. G. non erit salvus] R. Vet.
 „ 18. super metuentes eum et in eis qui sperant super] U. G. super timentes eum sperantes autem in] R. super metuentes eum sperantes super] Vet.
 „ 19. ut eruat] U. G. Vet. ut eripiat] R.
 „ 20. Anima nostra] U. G. Anima autem nostra] R. Vet.
 „ 21. Quia in eo] U. G. Vet. et in ipso] R.
 speravimus] U. G. sperabimus] R. Vet.
 „ 22. Fiat misericordia] U. G. Vet. Fiat domine misericordia] R.
 quemadmodum] U. G. sicut] R. Vet.

Psalm XXXIII.:

- v. 3. in idipsum] U. G. Vet. in invicem] R.
 „ 4. Exquisivi] U. G. Inquisivi] R. Vet.
 „ 5. facies vestrae] U. G. vultus vestri] R. Vet.
 non confundentur] U. G. erubescant] R. Vet.
 „ 6. de omnibus] U. G. ex omnibus] R. Vet.
 salvavit] U. G. liberavit] R. salvum fecit] Vet.
 „ 9. quoniam non est inopia] U. G. quoniam nihil deest] R. quia nihil deest] Vet.
 „ 10. non minuentur] U. G. Vet. non deficient] R.
 „ 12. diligit dies videre] U. G. Vet. et cupit videre dies] R.
 „ 14. persequere] U. G. sequere] R. Vet.
 „ 15. in preces] U. G. ad preces] R. Vet.
 „ 19. de omnibus iis] U. G. de iis omnibus] R. de omnibus his] Vet. V.
 „ 20. custodit dominus U. G. Vet. Dominus custodit] R.
 „ 21. pessima] U. G. Vet. pessima est] R.
 delinquent] U. G. Vet. delinquant] R.

Psalm XXXIV.:

- v. 4. reveantur : quærentes animam meam] U. G. reveantur inimici mei qui quærent animam
 meam] R. reveantur requirentes animam meam] Vet.
 „ 5. et confundantur : cogitantes] U. G. et erubescant : qui cogitant] R. et confundantur qui
 cogitant] Vet.
 „ 6. coarctans] U. G. affligens] R. tribulans] Vet.
 „ 7. Fiat via illorum] U. G. Fiant viæ eorum] R. Vet.
 „ 8. supervacue] U. G. vane] R. vano] Vet.
 „ 9. abscondit] U. G. occultaverunt] R. Vet.
 eum et in laqueum cadat in ipso] U. G. eos in laqueum incidant in idipsum] R. illos et in
 muscipula incidant in ipsa] Vet.
 „ 10. super salutari suo] U. G. super salutare ejus] R. Vet.
 „ 11. similis tui] U. G. Vet. similis tibi] R. V.
 „ 12. manu fortiorum] U. G. manu fortioris] R. Vet.
 a diripientibus] U. G. Vet. a rapiantibus] R.
 „ 13. surgentes] U. G. exurgentes] R. insurgentes] Vet.
 „ 15. cum] U. G. dum] R.
 induebar cilicio] U. G. induebam me cilicium] R. induebam me cilicio] Vet.
 „ 16. in sinu meo convertetur] U. G. Vet. in sinum meum convertebatur] R.
 „ 17. Quasi] U. G. et sicut] R. sicut] Vet.
 sic] U. G. Vet. ita] R.
 quasi] U. G. Vet. tanquam] R.
 „ 18. et adversum me] U. G. adversus me] R.
 congregata sunt super me flagella et ignoravi] U. G. congregaverunt in me flagella et
 ignoraverunt] R. Vet.
 „ 19. Dissipati sunt] U. G. Dissoluti sunt] R.
 nec compuncti] U. G. nec compuncti sunt] R.
 subsannaverunt me subsannatione frenduerunt super me] U. G. et deriserunt derisu
 striderunt in me] R. subsannaverunt me substannatione striderunt in me] Vet.
 „ 20. restitue] U. G. restitues] R.
 a malignitate] U. G. a malefactis] R. ab astutiis] Vet.
 „ 21. tibi in ecclesia] U. G. tibi domine in ecclesia] R. Vet.
 „ 22. Non supergaudeant mihi] U. G. Ut non insultent in me] R. Non insultant mihi]
 Vet.
 annuunt] U. G. annuebant] R. annuentes] Vet.
 „ 23. et in iracundia terræ loquentes dolose] U. G. et super iram dolose] R. et in super iram
 dolose] Vet.

- v. 24. Et dilataverunt super me] U. G. Dilataverunt in me] Vet. Et dilataverunt in me] Vet.
 „ 26. Exurge et intende iudicio meo] U. G. Vet. Exurge domine intende iudicium meum] R.
 „ 27. Judica me secundum justitiam tuam] U. G. Judica me secundum magnam misericordiam
 tuam] R. Judica me domine secundum justitiam meam] Vet.
 et non supergaudeant mihi] U. G. ut non insultent in me inimici mei] R. et non
 insultent in me inimici mei] Vet.
 devorabimus] U. G. Vet. obsorbvimus] R. V.
 „ 28. Non dicant] U. G. nec dicant] R. Vet.
 „ 30. confusione et reverentia] U. G. pudore et reverentia] R. confusione et verecundia]
 Vet.
 qui maligna loquuntur super me] U. G. qui magna loquuntur adversus me] R. qui
 magna loquuntur super me] V. qui maligna loquuntur adversum me] Vet.
 „ 32. Et lingua mea] U. G. Vet. Sed et lingua mea] R.

Psalm XXXV.:

- v. 2. ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus] U. G. ut inveniret iniquitatem suam] R. Vet.
 „ 3. oris ejus] U. R. Vet. V. oris mei] G.
 „ 7. Salvabis domine quemadmodum multiplicasti] U. G. Salvos facies domine quemadmodum
 multiplicasti] R. Salvos facies domine sicut multiplicata est] Vet.
 misericordiam tuam] U. G. misericordias tuas] R. misericordia tua] Vet.
 „ 8. in tegmine] U. G. in protectione] R. sub tegmine] Vet.
 „ 10. in lumine tuo] U. G. et in lumine tuo] R. Vet.
 „ 12. peccatoris] U. G. peccatorum] R. Vet.
 „ 13. ceciderunt qui] U. G. ceciderunt omnes qui] R. Vet.

Psalm XXXVI.:

- v. 1. in malignantibus: neque zelaveris facientes] U. G. inter malignantes: neque æmulatus fueris
 facientes] R. in malignantibus: neque æmuleris facientes] Vet.
 „ 2. et quemadmodum] U. G. et sicut] R. Vet.
 decident] U. G. cadent] R. Vet.
 „ 5. in eum] U. G. Vet. in eo] R. V.
 „ 6. quasi] U. G. tanquam] R. sicut] Vet.
 tanquam] U. G. sicut] R. Vet.
 et ora] U. G. et obsecra] R. Vet.
 „ 7. Noli æmulari in eo] U. G. ne æmulatus fueris eum] R. Ne subæmuleris eum] Vet.
 injustitias] U. G. iniquitatem] R. Vet.
 „ 8. noli æmulari ut maligneris] U. V. ne æmuleris ut nequiter facias] R. ne subæmuleris ut
 maligne facias] Vet.
 „ 9. malignantur] U. G. næquiter agunt] R. maligne agunt] Vet.
 sustinentes autem] U. G. Vet. qui vero expectant] R.
 hæreditabunt] U. G. hæreditate possidebunt] R. Vet.
 „ 10. Et adhuc pusillum] U. G. Vet. Pusillum adhuc] R.
 et non] U. G. nec] R. Vet.
 „ 11. hæreditabunt] U. G. possidebunt] R. hæreditate possidebunt] Vet.
 „ 12. Stridebit] U. G. Vet. fremet] R.
 „ 14. evaginaverunt] U. G. R. eduxerunt] Vet.
 intenderunt] U. G. Vet. tetenderunt] R.
 „ 15. Ut decipiant pauperem et inopem] U. G. ut dejiciant pauperem et inopem] R. V. ut
 decipiant inopem et pauperem] Vet.
 „ 16. corda] U. G. in cor] R. in corda] Vet. V.
 confringatur] U. G. conteratur] R. Vet.
 „ 19. dies] U. G. vias] R. viam] Vet.
 „ 20. quia] U. G. quoniam] R. Vet.
 „ 21. vero] U. G. autem] R. V. Vet.
 mox ut honorificati fuerint et exaltati] U. G. mox honorati et exaltati fuerint] R. statim
 ut gloriabuntur et exaltabuntur] Vet.

- quemadmodum fumus deficient] U. G. deficientes ut fumus deficient] R. deficientes sicut fumus deficient] Vet.
- v. 22. Mutuabitur] U. G. Mutuatur] R. Fœneratur] Vet.
 solvet] U. G. solvit] R. Vet.
 tribuet] U. G. commodat] R. Vet.
- „ 23. quia] U. G. quoniam] R.
 ei hæreditabunt] U. G. cum possidebunt] R.
 cum hæreditate] Vet.
 disperibunt] U. G. disperient] R. Vet.
- „ 24. Apud dominum] U. G. A domino] R. Vet.
 diriguntur] U. G. diriguntur] R. dirigetur] Vet.
 volet] U. G. Vet. cupit nimis] R.
- „ 25. non collidetur] U. G. justus non conturbabitur] R. Vet.
 supponit manum suam] U. G. firmat manum ejus] R. Vet.
- „ 26. junior fui etenim] U. G. junior fui et] R.
 juvenes fui et] Vet.
 quærens panem] U. G. Vet. egens pane] R.
- „ 27. Semen illius] U. G. Vet. Semen ejus] R.
- „ 29. Quia] U. G. quoniam] R. Vet.
- „ 30. Injusti punientur] U. G. Injusti autem punientur] R. Vet.
- „ 31. autem hæreditabunt terram] U. G. vero hæreditate possidebunt terram] R.
 mortificare] U. G. Vet. perdere] R.
- „ 35. in manu ejus] U. G. in manibus ejus] R. V. Vet.
- „ 36. viam ejus] U. G. vias ejus] R.
 ut hæreditate capias terram : cum perierint] U. G. ut inhabites terram : cum perient] R.
 ut hæreditate capias terram cum pereunt] Vet.
- „ 37. sicut cedros] U. G. super cedros] R. Vet.
- „ 38. Et transivi] U. G. Vet. Transivi] R.
 et quæsi eum] U. G. Vet. quæsi eum] R.
- „ 39. innocentiam] U. G. Vet. veritatem] R.
 æquitatem] U. G. R. directionem] Vet.
- „ 40. disperibunt] U. G. disperient] R. Vet.
 interibunt] U. G. Vet. peribunt] R.
- „ 41. a domino] U. G. Vet. a domino est] R.
 eorum] U. G. eorum est] R. Vet.
- „ 42. eruet] U. G. eripet] R.
 salvabit eos] U. G. salvos faciet eos] R.
 quia] U. G. Vet. quoniam] R.

Psalm XXXVII. :

- v. 1. in furore tuo] U. G. in ira tua] R. in indignatione tua] Vet.
 in ira tua corripas me] U. G. in furore tuo corripuas me] R. in ira tua emendes me] Vet.
- „ 3. non est] U. G. Vet. nec est] R.
 non est] U. G. Vet. et non est] R.
 a facie] U. G. a vultu] R. Vet.
- „ 4. supergressæ sunt] U. G. superposuerunt] R. sustulerunt] Vet.
- „ 5. putruerunt et corruptæ sunt] U. G. computruerunt et deterioraverunt] R. computruerunt et putruerunt livores mei] Vet.
- „ 6. Miser factus sum et curvatus sum] U. G. Miseriis afflictus sum et turbatus sum] R.
 Miseriis afflictus et curvatus sum] Vet.
- „ 7. Quoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt] U. G. Quoniam anima mea completa est] R. Vet.
- „ 8. Afflictus sum] U. G. Incurrvatus sum] R.
 nimis] U. G. usque] R. usque nimis] Vet.
- „ 9. Domine ante te omne] U. G. Et ante te est omne] R. Vet.

- v. 10. dereliquit me virtus mea] U. G. in me et deseruit me fortitudo mea] R. Vet.
 „ 11. adversum me] U. G. Vet. adversus me] R.
 „ 12. Et qui juxta me erant de longe] U. G. Et proximè mei a longe] R. Vet.
 „ 13. vanitates] U. G. vanitatem] R. Vet.
 „ 14. tanquam] U. G. velut] R. Vet.
 non aperiens] U. G. Vet. non aperit] R.
 „ 15. redargutiones] U. G. increpationes] R. argutiones] Vet.
 „ 16. tu exaudies me] U. G. dixi tu exaudies] R. tu exaudies] Vet.
 „ 17. quando] U. G. Vet. aliquando] R. nequando] V.
 supergaudeant mihi] U. G. insultent in me] R. exultent in me] Vet.
 super me] U. G. in me] R. Vet.
 „ 18. paratus] U. G. paratus sum] R. Vet. V.
 in conspectu meo semper] U. G. ante me est semper] R. Vet.
 „ 19. annuntiabo] U. G. ego pronuncio] R. pronuntiabo] Vet.
 „ 20. vivunt] U. G. Vet. vivent] R.
 confirmati] U. G. Vet. confortati] R.
 „ 21. retribuunt] U. G. Vet. retribuiebant mihi] R.
 sequebar bonitatem] U. G. subsecutus sum justitiam] R. persecutus sum justitiam]
 Vet.

Psalm XXXVIII.:

- v. 2. cum consisteret] U. G. dum consistit] R. cum consistit] Vet.
 adversum me] U. G. adversus me] R. Vet.
 „ 4. exardescet] U. G. Vet. exardescit] R.
 „ 5. fac mihi] U. G. mihi fac] R. Vet.
 „ 7. mensurabiles] U. G. veteres] R. Vet.
 nihilum] U. G. nihil] R. Vet.
 ante te] U. G. Vet. ante te est] R.
 „ 9. verumtamen] U. G. Vet. quanquam] R.
 in imagine pertransit] U. G. in imagine Dei ambulet] R. in imagine ambulet] Vet.
 sed et frustra conturbatur] U. G. tamen vane conturbabitur] R. tamen vane conturbatur]
 Vet.
 „ 10. congregabit] U. G. Vet. congregata] R.
 apud me] U. G. a tanquam nihil ante te est] R. ante te semper] Vet. apud te est] V.
 „ 11. erue te] U. G. Vet. eripe me] R. V.
 „ 12. tu fecisti] U. G. tu fecisti me] R. Vet. erue me] V.
 „ 13. a fortitudine manus] U. G. Vet. a fortitudine enim manus] R.
 „ 14. verumtamen vane conturbatur] U. G. Vet. verumtamen universa vanitas] R.
 omnis homo] U. G. omnis homo vivens] R. omnis vivens] Vet.
 „ 15. Exaudi orationem meam domine] U. G. Exaudi Deus orationem meam] R. Vet.
 lachrimas meas] U. G. Vet. lachrimas meas: ne sileas a me] R.
 „ 16. Ne sileas quoniam advena] U. G. Quoniam incola] R. Ne sileas a me] Vet.
 apud te] U. G. Vet. apud te in terra] R.
 „ 17. ab eam] U. G. eam] R. Vet.

Psalm XXXIX.:

- v. 1. intendit mihi] U. G. respexit me] R. attendit mihi] Vet.
 „ 2. preces meas] U. G. deprecationem meam] R. Vet.
 „ 4. carmen] U. G. hymnum] R. Vet.
 „ 6. in vanitates] U. G. Vet. in vanitatem] R.
 „ 7. similis sit] U. G. Vet. similis] R.
 „ 9. aures autem] U. G. corpus autem] R. Vet.
 „ 10. Holocaustum et pro peccato] U. G. Holocausta etiam pro delicto] R. Vet.
 „ 11. ut facerem] U. G. Vet. ut faciam] R.
 cordis mei] U. G. Vet. ventris mei] R.

- v. 12. Annuntiavi] U. G. Bene nunciavi] R. Vet.
seisti] U. G. cognovisti] R. Vet.
- „ 14. Non abscondi] U. G. non celavi] R. Vet.
a consilio multo] U. G. a synagoga multa] R. a congregatione multa] Vet.
- „ 17. Multiplicatae sunt] U. G. Vet. Multiplicati sunt] R.
- „ 18. ut eruas me] U. G. ut eripias me] R. erue me] Vet.
ad adjuvandum me] U. G. Vet. in auxilium meum] R.
- „ 20. convertantur] U. G. Vet. avertantur] R.
revereantur] U. G. Vet. erubescant] R.
qui volunt] U. G. Vet. qui cogitant] R.
- „ 22. super te omnes quærentes te] U. G. qui quærent te domine] R. Vet.
- „ 23. autem mendicus sum et pauper] U. G. vero egenus et pauper sum] R. Vet.
solicitus est mei] U. G. curam habet mei] R. curam habebit mei] Vet.
- „ 24. protector] U. G. Vet. liberator] R.
tu es] U. G. Vet. es tu] R.
Deus meus ne tardaveris] U. G. Vet. domine ne tardaveris] R.

Psalm XL.:

- v. 2. in terra: et non tradat eum in animam inimicorum ejus] U. G. et emundet in terra animam
ejus, et non tradat eum in manus inimici ejus] R. et non tradat eum in manus inimici
ejus] Vet.
- „ 4. quoniam] U. G. quia] R. Vet. V.
- „ 5. peribit] U. G. Vet. periet] R.
- „ 6. ingrediebatur ut videret] U. G. ingrediebantur ut viderent] R. Vet.
loquebatur cor ejus] U. G. locutum est cor eorum] R. Vet.
congregavit] U. G. congregaverunt] R. Vet.
- „ 7. Egrediebatur] U. G. Et ingrediebantur] R. Vet.
in idipsum] U. G. Vet. simul] R.
- „ 8. adversum me] U. G. Vet. in unum] R.
- „ 9. constituerunt] U. G. mandaverunt] R. disposuerunt] Vet.
adversum me] U. G. Vet. adversus me] R.
- „ 10. speravi] U. G. Vet. sperabam] R.
magnificavit super me] U. G. ampliavit adversus me] R. ampliavit super me] Vet.
- „ 11. eis] U. G. illis] R. Vet.
- „ 12. quoniam] U. G. Vet. quia] R.
- „ 13. Me autem propter innocentiam suscepisti] U. G. Propter innocentiam autem meam suscepisti
me] R. Me autem propter innocentiam meam suscepisti] Vet.
- „ 14. a sæculo, et in sæculum] U. G. Vet. a sæculo et usque in sæculum] R. V.

Psalm XLI.:

- v. 1. Quemadmodum desiderat cervus] U. G. Vet. Sicut cervus desiderat] R.
- „ 2. ad Deum fortem vivum] U. G. Deum vivum] R. Vet.
apparebo] U. G. Vet. parebo] R.
- „ 4. transibo] U. G. ingrediar] R. Vet.
- „ 8. ero tui] U. G. ero tui domine] R. Vet.
hermoniim] U. G. Vet. hermonis] R.
- „ 11. nocte canticum ejus] U. G. nocte declaravit] R. Vet.
- „ 13. Quare oblitus es mei] U. G. Quare me oblitus es] R. Vet.
Quare tristis] U. G. et quare me repulisti; et quare tristis incedo] R. quare contris-
tatus incedo] Vet. V.
- „ 14. ossa mea] U. G. Vet. omnia ossa mea] R.
mihi] U. G. Vet. me] R.
inimici mei] U. G. omitted in R. omitted in Vet.
- „ 15. Dum dicunt] U. G. Vet. Dum dicitur] R.
- „ 17. Spera in deo] U. G. Spera in deum] R. Spera in domino] Vet.
quoniam adhuc] U. G. Vet. adhuc omitted in R.

Psalm XLII.:

- v. 1. erue me] U. G. Vet. ripe me] R.
 „ 2. Deus] U. G. Deus meus] R. Vet.
 „ 4. Et introibo] U. G. Vet. introibo] R.
 „ 6. Spera in Deo] U. G. Vet. Spera in Deum] R.

Psalm XLIII.:

- v. 1. patres nostri] U. G. Vet. et patres nostri] R.
 „ 2. in diebus] U. G. Vet. et in diebus] R.
 „ 5. in eis] U. G. Vet. in illis] R.
 „ 6. salutes] U. G. salutem] R. Vet.
 „ 7. ventilabimus cornu] U. G. cornu omitted in R. and Vet.
 in nos] U. G. Vet. in nobis] R. V.
 „ 9. Salvasti] U. G. liberasti] R. salvos] Vet.
 et odientes nos confudisti] U. G. et eos qui nos oderunt confudisti] R. Vet.
 „ 10. in sæculum] U. G. in sæcula] R. Vet.
 „ 11. egredieris] U. G. egredieris deus] R. Vet. V.
 „ 12. post inimicos nostros] U. G. præinimicis nostris] R. Vet.
 „ 15. subsannationem et derisum] U. G. Vet. derisum et contemptum] R.
 „ 16. in populis] U. G. in plebibus] R. in nationibus] Vet.
 „ 17. faciei meæ] U. G. vultus mei] R. Vet.
 „ 19. nec obliti sumus, te] U. G. et obliti non sumus te] R. Vet.
 „ 21. cooperuit] U. G. operuit nos] R. Vet.
 „ 24. te mortificamur] U. G. Vet. te morte afficimur] R.
 sicut] U. G. Vet. ut] R.
 „ 26. inopiæ nostræ] U. G. inopiam nostram] R. Vet.
 et tribulationes nostræ] U. G. et tribulationem nostram] R. Vet.
 „ 27. conglutinator est] U. G. adhæsit] R. Vet.
 „ 28. redime nos] U. G. Vet. libera nos] R.

Psalm XLIV.:

- v. 4. super] U. G. circa] R. Vet.
 „ 5. prospere] U. G. Vet. et prospere] R.
 „ 6. et deducet] U. G. Vet. deducet] R.
 „ 7. populi] U. G. potentissime populi] R. Vet.
 in corda] U. G. in corde] R. Vet.
 „ 8. virga directionis] U. G. Vet. virga recta est] R.
 circumdata] U. G. Vet. circumamicta] R.
 „ 13. Et concupiscet rex decorem tuum] U. G. Quoniam concupivit rex speciem tuam] R. Vet.
 quoniam] U. G. quia] R. Vet.
 „ 14. Et filiæ Tyri] U. G. filiæ Tyri] R. Vet.
 „ 15. regis] U. G. Vet. regum] R.
 varietatibus] U. G. varietate] R. Vet.
 „ 17. afferentur] U. G. Vet. afferentur tibi] R.
 in templum] U. G. Vet. templum] R.
 „ 19. Memor ero] U. G. Memores erunt] R. Vet. V.
 nominis tui] U. G. Vet. nominis tui domine] R.
 generationem] U. G. Vet. progenie] R.

Psalm XLV.:

- v. 2. turbabitur] U. G. conturbabitur] R. Vet.
 „ 3. eorum] U. G. ejus] R. Vet.
 „ 5. mane diluculo] U. G. vultu suo] R. Vet.
 „ 6. vocem suam] U. G. vocem suam altissimus] R. Vet.

Psalm XLVI.:

- v. 2. dominus excelsus] U. G. Vet. Deus summus] R.
 super omnem terram] U. G. Vet. super omnes deos] R.

- v. 4. suam] U. G. Vet. sibi] R.
 „ 5. in júbilo] U. G. in jubilatione] R. Vet.
 dominus] U. G. Vet. et dominus] R.
 „ 8. deus] U. G. Vet. dominus in æternum] R.
 „ 10. principes populorum congregati sunt] U. G. principes populi convenerunt] R. principes
 populorum convenerunt] Vet.
 vehementer] U. G. nimium] R. valde] Vet.

Psalm XLVII. :

- v. 2. Fundatur exultatione] U. G. Dilatans exultationes] R. Vet.
 „ 3. in domibus ejus cognoscetur : cum] U. G. Vet. in gravibus ejus dignoscetur dum] R.
 „ 5. sic] U. G. tunc] R. ita] Vet.
 „ 6. ut] U. G. Vet. sicut] R.
 „ 7. sic] U. G. ita et] R. Vet.
 „ 9. sic] U. G. Vet. ita] R.
 justitia] U. G. Vet. justitia tua] R.
 „ 12. domos ejus] U. G. Vet. gradus ejus] R.
 „ 13. Deus. deus noster] U. G. Vet. deus *omitted in R.*

Psalm XLVIII. :

- v. 1. omnes, qui] U. G. Vet. qui] R.
 in unum] U. G. Vet. simul in] R.
 „ 4. in[parabolam] U. G. Vet. in similitudinam] R.
 „ 5. cur] U. G. ut quid] R. Vet.
 circumdabit] U. G. Vet. circumdedit] R.
 „ 6. et in multitudine] U. G. quique en abundantia] R. et in abundantia] Vet.
 „ 7. redimit] U. G. Vet. redimet] R.
 „ 8. et] U. G. nec] R. Vet.
 „ 9. non] U. G. Vet. quoniam non] R.
 „ 10. domus illorum] U. G. domus eorum] R. Vet.
 „ 11. in progeniem] U. G. in progenie in omni generatione] R. in generatione et genera-
 tionem] Vet.
 vocaverunt] U. G. invocabunt] R. Vet.
 nomina sua] U. G. nomina eorum] R. Vet.
 terris suis] U. G. terris ipsorum] R. Vet.
 „ 13. via illorum] U. G. via eorum] R. Vet.
 complacebunt] U. G. benedicent] R. Vet.
 „ 15. et dominabuntur eorum] U. G. et obtinebunt eos] R. et dominabunter eis] Vet.
 a gloria eorum] U. G. et a gloria sua expulsi sunt] R.
 „ 16. redimet] U. G. Vet. liberabit] R.
 cum acceperit] U. G. Vet. dum acceperit] R.
 „ 18. cum interierit non sumet omnia : neque descendit cum eo gloria ejus] U. G. non cum morietur
 accipiet hæc omnia neque simul descendet cum eo gloria domus ejus] R. Vet.
 „ 19. quia] U. G. quoniam] R. Vet.
 „ 20. Introibit] U. G. Vet. Et introibit] R.
 usque] U. G. Vet. et usque] R. V.
 „ 21. Homo] U. G. Vet. Et homo] R.

Psalm XLIX. :

- v. 1. vocavit] U. G. Vet. vocabit] R.
 „ 4. exardescet] U. G. ardebit] R. præibit] Vet.
 „ 5. desursum] U. G. sursum] R. Vet.
 „ 6. ordinant] U. G. ordinaverunt] R. disponunt] Vet.
 „ 7. Et annuntiabunt] U. G. Vet. annunciaverunt] R.
 „ 8. Deus Deus tuus] U. G. quoniam Deus Deus tuus] R. quoniam Deus judex] Vet.
 „ 9. Non in sacrificiis tuis] U. G. Non super sacrificia tua] R. Vet.

- v. 12. et pulchritudo agri] U. G. et species agri] R. Vet.
 „ 16. tribulationis: et eruam te et honorificabis] U. G. tribulationis: eruam te] V. tribulationis
 tuæ: eripam te et magnificabis me] R. tribulationis tuæ: et eximam te et glorificabis me]
 Vet.
 „ 18. retrorsum] U. G. post te] R. Vet.
 „ 20. malitia] U. G. Vet. nœquitia] R.
 concinnabat dolos] U. G. concinnavit dolum] R. amplexa est dolositatem] Vet.
 „ 21. loquebaris] U. G. detrahebas] R. Vet.
 „ 22. inique] U. G. iniquitatem] R. Vet.
 „ 23. Deum] U. G. dominum] R. Vet.
 „ 24. iter, quo] U. G. iter est in quo] R. via est in qua] Vet.

Psalm L.:

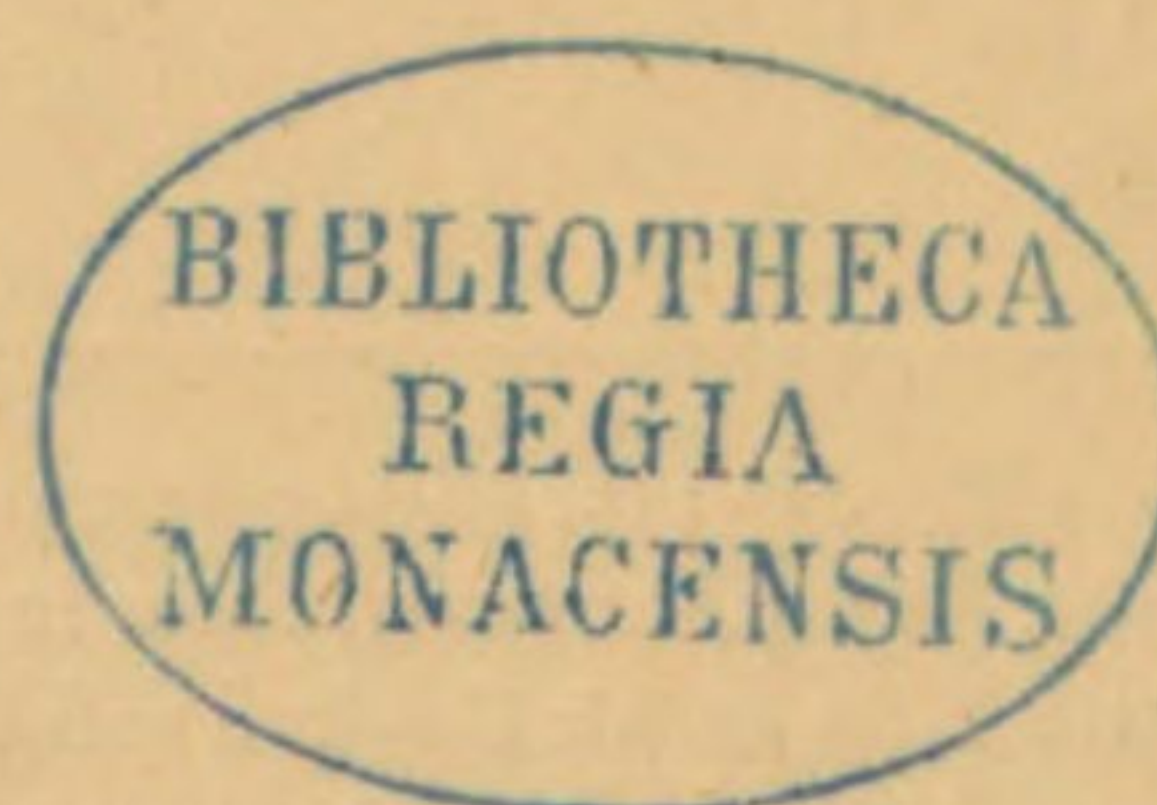
- v. 3. ab iniquitate mea] U. G. ab injustitia mea] R. Vet.
 et a peccato meo] U. G. et a delicto meo] R. Vet.
 „ 4. cognosco] U. G. agnosco] R. Vet.
 et peccatum] U. G. delictum] R. Vet.
 contra me] U. G. coram me] R. Vet.
 „ 5. et vincas] U. G. Vet. et vicas] R.
 „ 6. in peccatis concepit] U. G. in delictis peperit] R. in peccatis mater mea me in utero aluit] Vet.
 „ 14. docebo] U. G. doceam] R. Vet.
 „ 15. exultabit] U. G. Vet. exaltabit] R.
 „ 18. non despicias] U. G. non spernit] R. Vet.

Psalm XCV.:

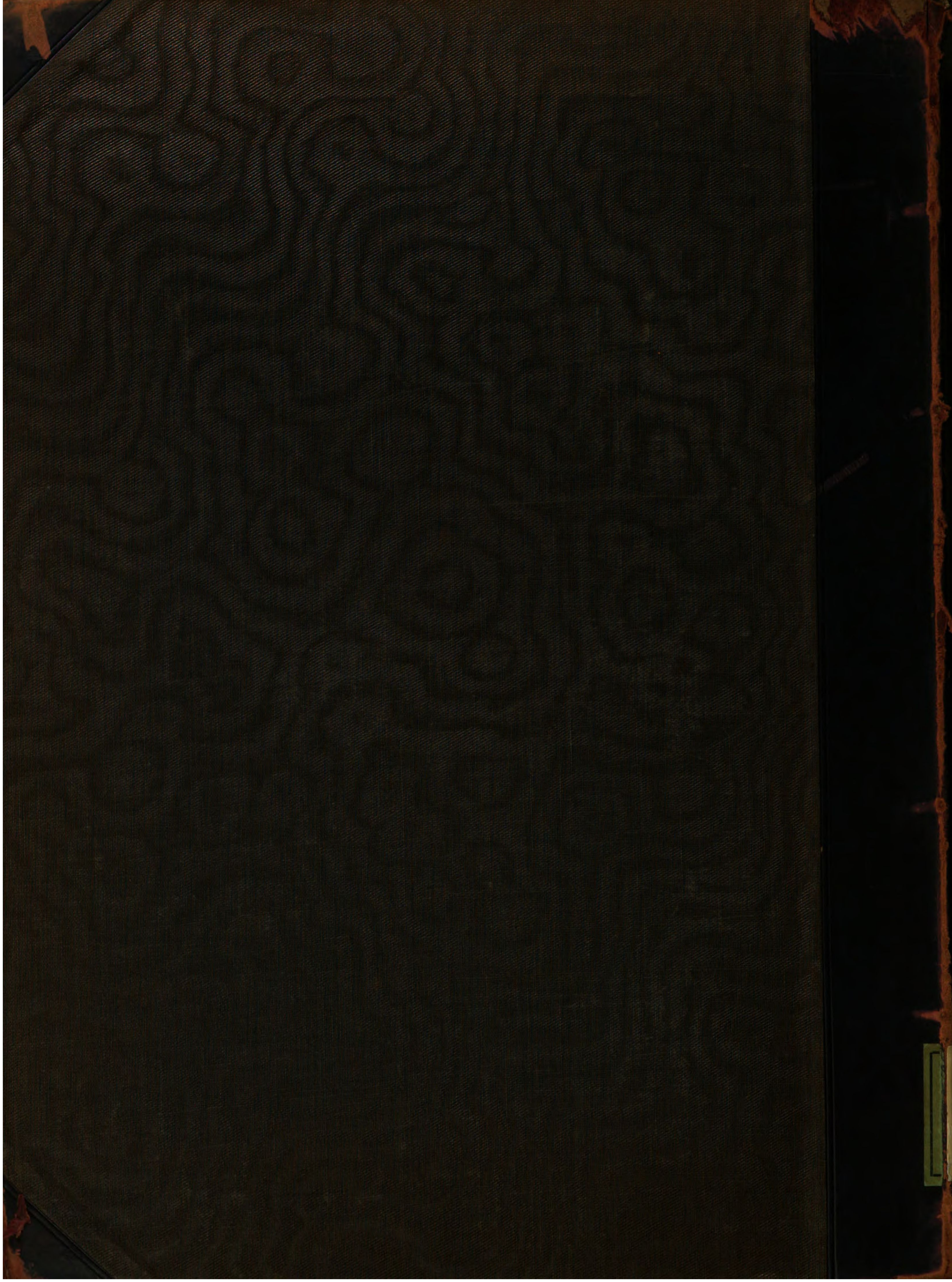
- v. 2. Cantate domino, benedicite] U. G. Cantate domino et benedicite] R. V. Vet.
 nomini ejus] U. G. nomen ejus] R. Vet.
 annunciate] U. G. benenunciate] R. Vet.
 „ 6. sanctimonia] U. G. sanctitas] R. Vet.
 „ 8. in atrio sancto] U. G. Vet. V. in aula sancta] R.
 „ 9. in gentibus] U. G. in nationibus] R. Vet.
 dominus regnavit] U. G. dominus regnavit a ligno*] R. Vet.
 „ 10. in æquitate] U. G. Vet. in æquitate: et gentes in ira sua] R.
 „ 11. commoveatur] U. G. Vet. moveatur] R.
 „ 12. a facie] U. G. ante faciem] R. Vet.
 quia] U. G. quoniam] R. Vet.
 venit] U. G. Vet. veniet] R.

* St. Justin, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, reproaches the Jews for having removed the words "a ligno" from the Psalter, on the supposition that they had reference to the Cross of Christ. They, however, occur in the Vetus version of the Psalms, and St. Jerome retained them in his text of the Roman, but he afterwards omitted them in his Gallican and Hebraic versions. These words were selected by Baron Van Westreenen van Tiellandt as a proof that the Utrecht MS. contained the Gallican and not the Roman version of St. Jerome's translations.

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